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SPECIAL NOTICE.

WHEN the Council of the Sociological Society resolved, in 1907, to publish a Quarterly Review instead of the Annual SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS in which the transactions of the first three years were printed, a guarantee fund was raised among the members, a number of whom showed their interest in the enterprise by promising contributions on a liberal scale. The guarantees thus secured were for a term of three years, which came to an end with the number for October, 1910.

It became necessary, therefore, before embarking upon a fourth volume, to ascertain whether the members of the Society in general were favourable to the continuance of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, and if so, what measure of financial support the Council might hope to receive. Accordingly an appeal for further guarantees, to cover a period of two years, was sent out some three months ago, and the response was so satisfactory that the Council felt justified in deciding to continue publication. It should, however, be stated that the new Guarantee Fund has not yet by any means reached the required amount, and that, although the number of small guarantees is very much larger than it was at the beginning, the maintenance of the Review would be impossible were it not for the continued generosity of a few supporters to

whom the Society is especially indebted. We take this opportunity of reminding those members who may have overlooked the former announcement that contributions to the Guarantee Fund may still be sent in, and that they will be acceptable, however small.

The need for a journal such as the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW becomes every year more evident. All students of contemporary movements and affairs recognise that there is an ever enlarging range of problems demanding, not partisan advocacy, but scientific survey and analysis, and that the discussion of such problems—social and economic, racial and international, historic and biological, civic and educational—can best be conducted upon a platform detached from the storms of current controversy. Such a platform is afforded by the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

The Review is not restricted to the printing of papers read at the meetings of the SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY; contributions from outside are welcomed. Very many of the Society's members are actively interested in one or other department of sociological research, and it is particularly desired that all these should keep the Review in mind as the channel through which they may most appropriately reach their fellow workers, whether by means of articles, discussions, or notes.

S. K. RATCLIFFE,

Acting Editor.

THE HIGHWAYS OF ENGLAND.*

THEIR GROWTH AND RELATION TO CIVICS.

AT the commencement of our subject it is necessary to clear the ground somewhat and inquire into the nature of the geographical conditions peculiar to this island of ours. Upon this depends the position and correlation of city and town and the resulting direction taken by the various methods of communication, whether by river, track, road or railway.

Just as the position of Great Britain has been of importance in its relation to the continent of Europe, so in the metropolis itself is to be found the key for the better understanding of the social geography of Great Britain. Mr. Mackinder has shown us how this country, standing as it does at the north-western apex of the great natural trade channel of the Rhine Valley and its sister route across the plateau of Langres, naturally, given favourable internal conditions, was bound to become the lap of the deity of commerce into which poured the gifts of her devotees. And did not Lud, the British tutelary God of Commerce, have his very sanctuary in the heart of the metropolis, on Ludgate Hill?

And so the consecration of London, the *Londinium* or *Lundinium* of the Romans, which I submit might more aptly be derived from the words *Lud* and *dyn*, the town dedicated to the god Lud (to whom we know the Romans paid great respect) than from *Lyn* and *dyn*, the town on the lake—I repeat, the very fact of the consecration of London in these early times to commerce, was not only a prophetic sign of her greatness to come, but also a symbol of her geographical position, as the natural centre to which trade had perforce to flow.

Admirably situated both for protection and also for accessibility on its tidal waterway, London assumes a concentric position as regards the Continent, and an eccentric one as regards England. Just as London is a great receiving centre from the continent of Europe, so it is also the great distributing centre for the United Kingdom. From Roman times to the present day all roads, stone paved, macadam or steel radiate from it. But this is not all. Just as external traffic from the continent reaches it from the south-east, so to-day the general trend of internal communication and the greatest volume of railway traffic leaves London in a north-westerly direction, subsidised further on by two streams of commerce joining it from the south-west and south, the more

* A paper read before the Sociological Society, November 15, 1910.

important arriving by the depression marked by the Bristol Channel and the Severn Valley. This zone is marked by a regular series of cities and towns of commercial activity as distinguished from those lying beyond its pale, which are purely agricultural in character.

Let us for a moment glance at this zone so as to get a clear understanding of what is to follow.

Starting from London it is at first somewhat irregular, but may be said to fan out so as to be bounded by Reading on the south-west and Watford on the north-east, narrowing again to include Luton and Dunstable. Thence it gradually widens on the north-eastern side to include Bedford, and, still further north, the limits of the Northamptonshire shoe-making industry at Raunds, Northampton marking the south-western edge.

A straight line drawn from Market Harborough to Worcester passes through Rugby and Leamington, and seems to indicate the confluence of the three streams of commerce. From this point the zone widens, stretching from Leicester to Bewdley and Nottingham to Shrewsbury. Beyond this, it splits into two on either side of the Peak District, to unite again on the line of Doncaster and Chester. North of this again an excrescence eastward to include the Humber ports must be made, the corresponding edge on the western side being represented by Liverpool, the belt narrowing again to York and Preston.

North of these cities, the zone ceases to retain its uniform character and divides into two branches following either coast, to end, as regards England, in Newcastle, but to continue onwards into Scotland to the Firths of Forth, Clyde and Tay. East of this belt lie only four centres of any serious pretensions to commercial industry, and these are Norwich, Ipswich, Peterborough and Lincoln. Of these, Norwich has fallen from its high estate as the centre of the cloth-weaving and crape industry. It was at one time the first city after London in point of size. It has recovered somewhat of late through the popularity of mustard and soda water. Peterborough is first and foremost a railway centre, while Lincoln is an industrial as well as an agricultural one, typified indeed by its chief product, agricultural machinery. Inside of these again and bordering upon the commercial zone (and note their position as an interesting sociological feature) are three towns of a lesser degree which combine both industrial and agricultural features. These are Grantham, Newark and Gainsborough.

Here then we have this interesting fact, that running through the heart of England is a narrow belt of country dotted with populous towns and cities. In defining its area we have shorn off large tracts of Yorkshire and the Northern counties, nearly the whole of Wales, the whole of Lincolnshire and part of Notting-

hamshire, Cambridgeshire, East Anglia, a large part of the home and southern counties, in fact by far the larger proportion of the whole country. In the zone in question on the other hand we have an incomparably larger population, commerce and movement of trade.

To what is this due? There must be some fundamental reason for this condition of things. What then is the cause? The answer to the question, which will I think become clear as we proceed, is a very simple one. *It is that the internal lines of communication are based upon the position of the ports, the frontier towns of our island.*

Roughly speaking the shape of England and Wales is that of a five-pointed star. At the five points of indentation lie five great ports or groups of ports, the dominating ones being London, Southampton, Bristol, Liverpool and Hull. This is an important fact to bear in mind, for upon it rests our hypothesis. These indentations are the estuary of the Thames, Southampton Water, the Bristol Channel and the Mersey and Humber estuaries.

Each of these five principal ports has its sister or subsidiary parts grouped around it. Thus London, naturally the most dominating owing to its position as regards the continent, has several and of various kinds. It has (1) what we may call its continental ports, as Harwich, Queenborough, Dover, Folkestone, Newhaven, Weymouth, and in this sense Southampton also; (2) its naval shipbuilding port at Chatham; (3) its naval stations at Harwich and Sheerness; (4) its ocean liner port at Tilbury; (5) an ocean liner point of call, Dover, and (6) its fishing port at Great Yarmouth.

Southampton is an interesting instance as although, like Newcastle, it has been of importance throughout our history, dating from Roman and perhaps British times, it is only in the last two decades that it has attained to great prominence. To-day it is the terminus of four great companies plying between this country and America, South America and South Africa, while it is the point of call for America and the East for three other foreign lines. It has its sister naval port of Portsmouth hard by, while in addition to its functions as an ocean liner port and port of call, it is also a continental one, dealing as it does with Havre, St. Malo and the Channel Islands, and a home trading port with lines to Cork and the Clyde.

Bristol, essentially a commercial port dependent upon the tramp steamer of shallow draught, as opposed to Southampton, the ocean liner port, and Liverpool which is representative of both, has had a curious and interesting history. It is supposed to have been of British origin. There was a port, Abona, some miles nearer the

mouth of the Avon, in Roman times, but it was a point of embarkation for South Wales on the western road from London via Bath, which at that time was the populous centre in that part of England, rather than a commercial port, as there is no evidence there of the remains of any city of importance. In Saxon times it grew into importance and was known as Brightstowe (a pleasant place), and from the twelfth century onward, it became second only, in point of population and as a port, to London, being surpassed in the former respect for a time only by Norwich. Its reputation as a port was doubtless partly due to the discovery of the New World. In later days its significance somewhat dwindled, but to-day thanks to the efforts of its corporation it is again gaining prominence. Several ports group themselves in the Bristol Channel, but, while Bristol owes its leadership to the fact of its being an industrial city besides, it can hardly be said to exercise the influence that London has over its own group; for the ports of Swansea, Cardiff, and Newport may be regarded as more or less independent. In this group falls Pembroke with its naval dockyard and Milford Haven, now superseded by Fishguard, which has not only captured its rival's position as the point of departure for Ireland, but seems also destined to become the chief trans-Atlantic point of call in the West.

Next we have Liverpool, with Birkenhead, the largest and most important of all and second only to London in the country. As a combined commercial and ocean liner port it at present is unsurpassed. Its history dates back to the time of Henry V., but owing to the navigation of the Mersey presenting great difficulty by reason of the bar at its mouth, its importance as a port is comparatively recent, being contemporaneous with the era of the industrial revolution. Southampton seems likely to capture some of its trade, thanks to the influence of the fast German vessels that call there, but this is true at present only as regards the fast passenger and not the cargo carrying vessel. The port of Holyhead, which may be classified in the Liverpool group, has been in the past the chief point of embarkation for Ireland from all parts of England. The Midland Railway port of Heysham for Belfast and the north of Ireland recently, and still later Fishguard for the south of Ireland, have challenged its supremacy. It has now also become a point of call for Liverpool liners. Barrow-in-Furness, famed chiefly for the private naval construction yard of Messrs. Vickers Sons and Maxim, may be said to stand in somewhat the same relation to Liverpool as Chatham does to London. It is the most prominent of the group of Cumberland ports. Before the days of Liverpool, Chester stood supreme as the port of Roman, mediæval and Renaissance days, and but for the shallow waters of the Dee, would presumably have held its own to this day. Later on we

shall have to examine many another instance of this shifting of location of cities and towns arising from changes in the lines of communication.

What Liverpool is to the west, the Humber ports are to the east, and as the trade of Liverpool is mainly trans-Atlantic, so that of Hull with its sister ports of Goole and Grimsby is conspicuously continental. All three are essentially commercial ports, but Hull, which is by far the largest, has also passenger continental services between this country and Holland and Norway. It dates from the time of Edward I. and has always been reckoned a port of considerable importance. Grimsby is a great fishing centre in addition to its commercial character, and stands in the same relation to the populous parts of the north as Yarmouth does to London.

Two other ports should be mentioned, Plymouth and Newcastle.

Plymouth lies in an unfortunate geographical position and for that very reason is declining, a fact which makes it an interesting sociological instance. Commercially speaking it is insignificant, since it lies too far away from the centre of England, thus making railway haulage too expensive. As an ocean liner port it has thus been eclipsed by Southampton with its superior geographical position.

Newcastle, a Roman city of great strength, situated as it was at the extremity of the famous wall, dominates a number of ports on the Tyne, Wear and Tees. It too suffered in its early history from difficulties of navigation. Here are congregated the largest private shipbuilding yards, while in its coal and iron trade it in conjunction with its neighbouring ports stands pre-eminent. It has also a passenger continental service to Norway. It was here that the first coal was excavated in the middle of the thirteenth and conveyed by sea to London at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Taking now the five groups of ports of our star with the addition of Newcastle, we find that the railways linking them together in many instances correspond with the main lines of the chief companies, or where these are owned by different companies have become important roads for through traffic. Thus the route from London to Southampton lies over the London and South Western main line; that to the Bristol Channel ports over the Great Western main line; that to the Mersey over the London and North Western, Midland and Great Central main lines, and the one to Birkenhead over the Great Western; while the route to Hull follows the Great Northern as far as Doncaster and that to Newcastle pursues the Great Northern and North Eastern main lines.

Then taking the linking up of these ports across country we find Southampton and Portsmouth connected with Bristol and

Cardiff by through service, Southampton with the Mersey by Midland or Great Western routes and with the Humber ports and Newcastle over the Great Central line. The Bristol Channel ports are allied to the Mersey by means of an important road via Hereford and Crewe, and are brought in touch with Hull and Newcastle either by the Midland line via Birmingham to Sheffield and thence by the Hull and Barnsley railway to the former and via York to the latter, or by the Great Western and Great Central railways via Didcot and Banbury, Sheffield, etc.

Liverpool and Hull are connected in three ways, either by the London and North Western or by the Cheshire Lines Committee and Great Central, or by the Lancashire and Yorkshire main line, each connecting at various points with the North Eastern system. Lastly Newcastle is reached from Liverpool either by the North Western or Lancashire and Yorkshire railway in combination with the North Eastern.

Having thus shown how intimately the positions of the principal ports are bound up with the general plan of our railways to-day—and, it might be added, the same principles apply in the case of many other ports, such as Yarmouth, Harwich, Dover, Plymouth, etc.—we must now retrace our steps back into the ages, and attempt to discover what were the principles underlying the system of roads in vogue during the early periods of our history.

It is as yet early to say much of the roadways as they existed prior to the Roman occupation. The subject, which has been in reality left untouched by the eighteenth century archæologist and unconsidered by the nineteenth century surveyor, is only now beginning to be tackled. Upon this question I have the approval of Mr. Harold Peake, one of our most eminent authorities, to make a few statements from a conversation which I recently had with him. So far as he has been able to do diagnose the evidence collected up to the present, it appears that prior to the Roman era there were at least two types of roads, and very probably there were other less marked types as well. The two types that are distinctly definite were (1) Ridgeways and (2) Hillside roads. The Ridgeway is far the older of the two and is of great antiquity. It dates certainly, in Mr. Peake's opinion, from the earliest part of the Bronze Age and in part at least from the Neolithic Age. The Hillside roads were of a distinctly later date, and though there is some evidence to show that they may have been begun at the end of the Bronze Age it is safer perhaps at present to place them as roughly contemporary with the Iron Age. Whether or not the introduction of iron was coincident with the coming of the Celts, the Hillside type of road seems to have been in use during British rule.

There is evidence that the north of England developed independently of the south owing to the existence of a vast forest which covered the midlands. This was for long in practically savage condition, though it was penetrated by a few tracks in the Bronze Age and by a good many more in the Iron Age. Mr. Peake lays great stress on the importance of accurate surveys being made of the primeval forests in order to arrive at the course of these ancient roads, which naturally followed the line of least resistance. As a keen sociologist he is fully alive to the necessity, which for my part I should like to endorse with all the force at my command, of the study of these ancient roads as the proper preliminary to that of the settlement, village or small town, before arriving at the more complex conditions of city growth. In the attempts that he and others have made to trace these ancient roads one important fact is frequently noticed, which intimately concerns our subject.

It is found that these ancient roads often lie closely parallel to the later Roman roads, and in some cases are actually followed in their course by them. Archæologists have not infrequently been puzzled by traces of a Roman road starting from some station, and then being quite lost sight of, perhaps to emerge again many miles distant. This is easily explained. Recent research has proved that in these cases an already existing road or track was there, and the Roman engineer merely renewed it in places where it was found necessary. Pliny tells us that the chief means of communication in British times was by coracle upon the rivers and between navigable points by ridgeways. It is likely that the Thames and Severn and possibly other streams that we know were navigable at later dates were used for short distances from their mouths, but there is little evidence at present to show that internal communication was maintained except by the ridge or hillside ways.

Perhaps the most interesting case of Ridgeway and Hillside road lying parallel to one another is preserved for us in the roads that are loosely known as Upper and Lower Icknield Way north of the Thames, and as Ickleton Street or The Ridgeway south of that river, the Hillside road at both its extremities having been lost sight of by surveyors and thus wrongly merged into the Ridgeway. Here then we have the two periods represented by roads still extant lying parallel to one another. The section of the Icknield Ridgeway, south-east of Newmarket, seems to have been repaired in Roman times, but beyond Thetford Heath I believe it has not been traced, though there is little doubt that it must have continued on to some point on the sea or estuary, where now lie the Norfolk Broads. Perhaps near Thetford it divided into branches, Peddar's Way forming two of these, the respective points being Hunstanton on the Wash and Colchester. The routes of the two ways like others are punctuated

with barrows and earthworks. Near Aylesbury (*Ætheles Byrig*) is the bower of Cymbeline, where Caractacus was born. South of the Thames on the lower road lies the village of Liddington, which recalls perhaps some temple of Lud, as is preserved in the name Ludgate Hill and possibly too in Lydney.

One might have expected to find the lower road leading to Avebury, that famous relic of Druidical worship, but curiously enough all traces of the road are lost near here. The Ridgeway actually passes by it at some little distance to the east. One would like perhaps to have regarded this as an early form of pilgrim road, the temple of Lud bearing the same relation to Avebury as did later the Slipper Chapel to the famous shrine of Walsingham, or the crosses marking the precincts to the Abbey of Beverley, beloved by Athelstan.

But there is no evidence to prove this. On the other hand there are possible grounds for the supposition that the hillside road in company with another lying further south, known as the Harrow Way, led from the tin mines of Cornwall to the east coast in the one case and the coast of Kent in the other, whence the ore was shipped respectively to Scandinavia or the mouth of the Rhine. In this way, perhaps, we find the first beginnings of a definite trade-route. The evidence so far collected is as yet too meagre to enable one to say how far the ports in prehistoric times affected the road system of the country. Several roads seem to lead to Chester, but it is probable that the road continued on from there to the north coast of Wales. Ireland was in British times a gold producing country, and it was probably by this road amongst others that the precious metal travelled after shipment. Portway, in the neighbourhood of Oxford, which follows for some distance the Cherwell Valley, seems to form part of some system of communication between the south and north.

One thing, however, is certain about these early ways, and that is that the forests were a powerful factor in determining their course. This was not the case in the days of the Romans, whose superior engineering could afford to ignore nature's barriers. The fact that open plateau country such as Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs bears more traces of early civilisation than other parts of England, alike in roads, hill-forts and megalithic remains, is strong presumptive evidence of the important part played by the forest, as a factor in the limitation of populated areas as well as in the course of roads.

The Hill Forts that have been excavated are proved to have been erected in the Iron Age, though there is evidence that some of them were occupied by an earlier civilisation. They are thus contemporary with the Hill-side roads. They were positions of defence, as a general rule. They had no original connection

with the Ridge-ways, which appear sometimes to link them together. For different reasons the choice of high ground was made, for the one as a stronghold and for the other as an escape from forest of the lower ground. It is possible, certainly, that the existence of the Ridgeway may have influenced the site of a Hill-fort. The termination "bury," so often found in connection with these Celtic Hill-forts or British encampments, as they are more usually known, has the same meaning as 'barrow,' *i.e.*, dug out. From this it becomes a strong fortified place. Hence 'borough,' a town with a stronghold attached to it. "Bury" and its variants should thus be distinguished from the Roman termination 'caster' or 'ceaster,' 'chester,' 'cetter,' 'xeter,' derived from *castra*, a camp. This was situated on lower ground, the armoured soldier of the legion being able to ignore the arrow from the hill, and preferring the more mobile opportunities afforded by more level country. It seems likely that at this time the bulk of the population were living on the lower ground, so that the Hill fort may have partaken of the nature of the 'acropolis,' and was only used as a resort for refuge in time of war. It would be rash to generalise at present as to whether they were definite centres of population or not.

That some of the Roman towns grew up upon the site of British towns, or what is perhaps more reasonable to assume as judged by the light of history, that a Roman colony grew up alongside of an existing British town, there is considerable evidence from excavation. One has but to visit a city in the Orient, and notice the native quarter and the settlement of an alien population lying side by side to realize that the same kind of condition in every probability existed during the Roman domination in Celtic England. Dorchester with its British Hill-fort and Roman town hard by is a good illustration of this.

Excavations from time to time reveal the fact that upon the same site specimens of the Bronze or Iron ages will be found below relics of Roman date, and sometimes those of the Stone age will be reached at a deeper level still. This is particularly true of barrows, but it is also true in the case of the sites of towns, where of course excavation is exceedingly difficult, and it is perhaps only in the digging of an occasional foundation or the making of a road that such valuable evidence can be obtained. Until a great deal more investigation has been made, the correlation of road and town in the periods before the Roman conquest must remain more or less speculative.

It is not then till the days of the Romans who in their greater experience could overcome the difficulties of forest, swamp and fen, that we may be said to have any known definite system of roads. A careful examination of these leads to many facts of extraordinary interest, making one marvel at the genius of this wonderful nation.

Two facts at once strike the observer. First, principles almost identical with those we have seen governing our railway system are evident, viz., that the ports are the basis of inter-communication, and secondly, a fact of the utmost importance in the study of comparative civics, that owing to the use of comparatively shallow draught vessels the ports in many cases instead of being on the sea or upon an estuary are *situated some miles inland upon rivers navigable at that time.*

If we take the five principal groups of ports of our star, together with Newcastle, and their accompanying system of railways binding them together, and refer to a map of Roman Britain for comparison, we shall find there almost a complete analogy. It is true that the ports are not found to have been situated in identically the same spot, but in every case we find their counterparts lay in much the same position. Further than this, the same idea was applicable in Roman times as to-day, viz., that of linking up the ports by roads, these moreover constituting *the most important roads in the country.*

Thus we arrive at one great principle in the study of civics, viz., that *the port was father to the road*, while as we shall see later the *road was usually father to the city or town which lay inland.*

London on its tidal waterway stood as to-day of pre-eminent importance. Portsmouth and Southampton were represented by Portchester (Portus Magnus) and Clausentum. Caerleon might be said to have been the equivalent of the port of Bristol, while Bath was its counterpart as a centre of population, Cardiff, Lydney and Gloucester being its subsidiaries. Chester, probably the most important city next to London in early Roman days, was the Liverpool of to-day. York, Doncaster and Lincoln, the last reached by water by means of the Fosse Dyke, which joined the Trent at Torksey, may be aptly compared to Hull, Goole, which lies at the junction of the Ouse and the Don, and Grimsby: while, lastly, Newcastle, at the end of the great wall and guarding the northern road, was as to-day a port of great importance. Two other Roman ports should not be lost sight of at this point: first, Colchester, the Harwich of to-day, and secondly, Exeter, the counterpart of Plymouth.

The other Roman ports, all of which were connected with the interior by roads, whether situated upon the sea, estuary or navigable river, were:—Berwick, Teesmouth, Whitby, Flamborough, Godmanchester, Cambridge, Norwich, Dunwich, Rochester and Dorchester on the Thames, the five ports of Reculver, Richborough, Dover, Lympne and Canterbury, which may aptly be compared to the Cinque ports of mediæval fame, Shoreham (possibly), Chichester, Winchester, Exbury (at the mouth of the Beaulieu), Axemouth in Devon—then on the

Bristol Channel, Ischalis and Abona, the one probably located at the mouth of the Somersetshire Axe, and the other on the Bristol Avon, Worcester, and Wroxeter on the Severn, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Carnarvon, and north of the Dee, Ribblesmouth, Lancaster, Ravenglas, Egremont, Maryport, Wampoolmouth and Port Carlisle.

Let us now take the principal Roman roads and show how they linked up the chief ports. It can hardly be disputed that the most important road was Watling Street. Starting from Dover, the city situated at the apex of the second Jutland or Juteland of the Vikings, that tongue of land thrust out into the sea, as Mr. Mac-kinder has it, to catch the continental trade, it extended to Etocetum (Wall), near the modern Lichfield, there to expand into several branches whose destinations were either South Wales via Wroxeter, situated near Shrewsbury, or Chester and Carnarvon, or northwards to Manchester via Derby. But its great importance lay in the fact that it not only joined London with Chester but was also the great collecting road from the continent. At Canterbury three roads from the ports of Reculver, Richborough, the Sandwich of later days situated at the mouth of the river Stour, and Portus Lemanis, near Hythe, united. The road then proceeded through Rochester and Dartford to London. Now if we follow the same order as before when speaking of the chief ports, we find London and Portchester connected by Stane Street, its equivalent to-day being the London, Brighton and South Coast main line to Portsmouth, whose route it closely resembles. Southampton was reached via Silchester and Winchester, by a road at first parallel to and then coincident with the main line of the London and South Western Railway; the way to Exeter lay through Silchester, Salisbury and Dorchester, the course followed differing somewhat from the present railway, west of Salisbury; the route to the Bristol Channel ports of Caerleon and Cardiff lay through Silchester, Marlborough, Bath and Abona, thence by water to the western shore close to Caerwent, the journey corresponding to the Great Western Railway route to Bristol and Cardiff; lastly access to the Severn ports of Gloucester and Worcester was obtained via Newbury, or rather Speen, and Cirencester. Watling Street, the London and North Western main line of its day, we have already noticed.

Ermine Street, the Old North Road, the equivalent of the Great Northern Railway, was of great importance since it formed the medium of communication between London, Godmanchester, Lincoln, York, Newcastle and Carlisle, all of them important stations, York indeed being for some time capital of the country. From London the road ran to Braughing. Thence it divides into two as far as Godmanchester. The most westerly road

was probably an early road repaired at a later date and may have been the southern end of Mareham Lane, which we shall speak of in a moment. Swelled by traffic from Cambridge, Colchester and the eastern part of England, the road proceeded via Castor (near Peterborough) to Lincoln. Thence the route is as straight as an arrow to the Humber, which was crossed near Winteringham, York being reached via Market Weighton. Another road left Castor for Lincoln via Bourn and Sleaford. South of this town it is known as Mareham Lane, and it is of interest because it has all the appearance of an earlier road straightened in places by Roman hands. From Lincoln, here known as Till Bridge Lane, it branched north-westwards to Doncaster and proceeded via Boroughbridge. Again changing its name to Leeming Lane, it pursues its way via Catterick Bridge, where it divides, one road turning westward to Carlisle, the other going north to Newcastle. The fact, also, that its true course lies considerably to the west of York, which grew into prominence at the latter part of the Roman era, points to its being an older road than the other. North of York Ermine Street parallels the older road to Newcastle, its course lying through Easingwold, Thirsk, Northallerton; it is noteworthy that the North Eastern main line to the north keeps close to its course all the way. Lastly, London, Colchester and Norwich were connected by an important road, followed very closely by the Great Eastern main line to-day.

Taking now what may be described as the cross-country routes, a traveller or, shall we say rather a cohort on the march, for it was mainly for the rapid mobilisation of the legions that the Roman road system was introduced, could reach (1) the Bristol Channel or Severn ports from Portchester or Southampton by going through Winchester and Marlborough and Bath, (2) Gloucester by way of Marlborough and Cirencester, and (3) Chester via Silchester and Towcester. The two last named routes compare well with the Midland and South Western Junction Railway via Andover, Marlborough and Cheltenham, and the South Western, Great Western and Great Central combination from the south to the Midlands. Chester and Caerleon were in communication via Usk, Magnae (near Hereford), Wroxeter (near Shrewsbury) and Whitchurch, a route closely resembling that of the railway.

Chester was in touch with (1) Newcastle and York and (2) Lincoln, by a road which passing Manchester, proceeded to Castleford either through Rochdale and Todmorden or by Huddersfield, and thence to either destination via Tadcaster or Doncaster. The first of these two roads compares very closely to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway route between Manchester and York. Carlisle was reached from Chester via Manchester, Ribchester and

Kirkby Thore, by a route lying east and parallel to the London and North Western Railway.

The next two roads are particularly interesting, because they marked then as to-day the cross-current of traffic between the Bristol Channel and the Humber. These are first the Fosse Way, considered by some to have been of earlier date and only repaired by the Romans, which commencing in the extreme south-west and passing Exeter leaves the south-west coast at the mouth of the Axe and runs in a bee-line to Lincoln, through Ilchester, Bath, Cirencester and Leicester. The other road started from Caerleon, crossed the Severn at Gloucester, and passing Worcester bisected Watling Street at Wall, and then continued on through Burton, Derby, Chesterfield, Templeborough, finally joining the north road at Boroughbridge or reaching York via Castleford. It should be noticed how exactly this road follows the route of the Midland Railway between Worcester and Chesterfield. Another important road connected Colchester with Chester and Lancaster; this has been already mentioned but may be again referred to here since its route is comparable to the through service in vogue to-day between Harwich, the modern equivalent of Colchester, and Rugby, Liverpool, Manchester and the north.

The Roman road system was a thoroughly economical one. Unlike the road arrangement of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, it was far more similar to that of our railways in that the Romans utilized the principle of a main road with branches for the most part rather than two or more parallel main roads. The most conspicuous instance is the main road from London to the west and south-west of England. It proceeds for some forty-five miles or so before dividing into branches. In fact it splits into four at Silchester, and one of these again into two a few miles further on.

In consequence of this policy *we find many instances of road junctions*, comparable to our big railway junctions, and as a result there arose at these points flourishing towns. We know, for instance, from the excavations at Silchester that it must have been a very rich residential city, and there is scarcely any doubt but that its prosperity was due to the facilities of transportation enjoyed by it as a junction. It was, in fact, a combination of the modern railway centres, Reading and Basingstoke, Didcot and Swindon, inasmuch as it not only formed the link between Portchester and Southampton and the Watling Street system, but also was the point of divergence of the (1) Winchester-Southampton, (2) Salisbury-Exeter, (3) Bath-Caerleon and (4) the Cirencester-Gloucester systems, if the sub-division a few miles further on at Speen may be counted.

Another very important road junction was Wall (Etocetum),

near Lichfield. Two roads, the one we have already noticed from the Severn Valley, and the other a branch from the Fosse Way known as Ryknield Street, united on the site of Birmingham and crossed Watling Street to proceed in a north-westerly direction to Derby and thence either to the north, or north-westwards to Manchester. West of Wall, as we have seen, Watling Street divides, one road proceeding to Chester and North Wales, the other westward to Wroxeter and thence to the south. *Etocetum* thus formed the key between South Wales, the Severn Valley and the North of England, while it was also the distributing centre from London for Chester and North Wales, and the North of England. It thus combined not only the functions of the modern junction of Crewe, but also that of a junction between the Midland and London and North Western systems which cross one another without interchange at Tamworth. This brings me to another important point. Just as we have seen that modern ports have their ancient counterparts situated further inland upon rivers now no longer navigable for modern ships, in the same way we find the modern railway junction had its counterpart road junction, but in a slightly different position.

For purposes of comparison the Roman road and railway systems should be regarded as if the latter had been projected by the State rather than by a number of small railway companies. For instance, supposing there had been no competition the natural place for a great railway junction would have been at the point where the stream of traffic leaving the Severn Valley at Worcester going in a north-westerly direction through Birmingham strikes into the Valley of the Trent. Thus it would have been situated between Tamworth and Lichfield, in fact just four miles from Wall, doubtless chosen by the Roman road builder because it lay on somewhat higher ground. *Competition* has indeed had a large influence in diverting the older and more natural lines of communication.

Mention might be made here of some instances of towns that have suffered from refusing to allow the railways when projected to pass through them. Thus Kingston-on-Thames has had to take a back seat to Surbiton, which lies on the London and South Western main line, while Northampton which insisted on the London and North Western passing no nearer than Blisworth, for many years lacked a good main line service. Hertford and Stamford could have had the main line of the Great Northern pass through their boundaries but for the opposition on their part.

It occurs sometimes to-day that a railway junction of importance in the past ceases to be so any more from a new short cut being made so as to avoid it. Of such is Swindon, for example. A few years ago the Great Western built two stretches of line

shortening the route to Weymouth, Exeter and Plymouth by many miles, and instead of the express trains for those destinations passing through Swindon, they now leave the old main line at Reading. Bristol, again, no longer lies on the direct route from London to South Wales, Exeter and Plymouth, and similarly the new route to Birmingham recently opened avoids Didcot and Oxford. Thus Reading and Westbury have become prominent, at the expense of Swindon, Didcot and Oxford. Swindon has indeed passed through various vicissitudes. Mr. Peake has found a junction of prehistoric roads at this point. The main road, however, instead of running east and west, as in the railway system, appears to have been a means of communication between the north and south.

The circumstances which attend the rise and fall of cities and towns are very complex. Sometimes one finds that they have but slightly changed their position. If a town is situated on a river, this is sometimes due to a vessel of deeper draught being used, or the silting up of the river as in the famous case of Chester. Sometimes it occurs owing to a road having been destroyed, or a divergence made in a road later in history to include some village, which has since grown into prominence and has outrivalled its neighbours. The causes are various and sometimes impossible to determine. Individual cases have to be studied and it is very difficult to generalise upon this question. But the subject is one of great interest to the sociological student, particularly of the branch of civics, and ought to be studied in detail. All sorts of causes, indeed, enter into the question; trade, as in the case of the industrial revolution, geographical and climatic reasons will produce a whole crop of cities and towns and decide their situation, quite apart from any system of communication that may have existed before. In many cases, on the other hand, towns and cities grow for the very reason that the facilities of transit are at hand. This is as true to-day as ever it was. A good instance of such a town is Rugby. Formerly a small village, it became, owing to its position, a large railway junction, and is now rapidly becoming a large industrial town.

Perhaps the two most interesting examples in Roman times of cities which became so influential that they altered the arrangement of the road system, were York and Cambridge. York grew into prominence during the latter half of the Roman epoch, and this is borne out by the divergence at Tadcaster that had to be made from the older road, while its importance is shown by the number of roads radiating from it. A large army was stationed at York, and it was to feed this that the canal between Torksey on the Trent and Peterborough was constructed, supplies being brought by boat through the rich corn-growing country bordering

on the fens. Under Carausius it was continued on southward from Peterborough to Cambridge which in 288 A.D. was known as Granta. It was owing to the canal that Cambridge became an important station, being situated at the highest navigable point of the river system formed by the Great Ouse and the Cam. Carausius inaugurated a festival held yearly at the time when the boats started, and this, it is supposed, developed later into the famous Stourbridge fair, which lasted throughout the middle ages right down to the middle of the 18th century. Just as the older road misses York, so it will be noticed Ermine Street misses Cambridge, which it is extremely unlikely would have been the case had it been constructed at the time that Cambridge flourished. There is evidence of a Roman road which runs from Peterborough to Denver through the fens. It may be that this road had some connection with the history of the canal, possibly before it was extended to Cambridge. At the time it would have been far easier apparently to have constructed a canal rather than a road, so that one is tempted to think that it may have been a bank and not a road at all, constructed to keep out inroads of the sea, and that it may have been made before the Roman era. In any case its construction through a marshy swamp was most remarkable.

As a general rule the more important Roman stations when not governed by such special considerations as guarding a ford or bridge, which might tend to make the distances between station and station irregular, were either one, two or three marches apart. The average march was about eighteen miles a day. The troops usually marched for two consecutive days and then rested one day. Thus, on the section of Watling Street between London and Wall, the distances were as follows:—London to St. Albans 20 miles; to Fenny Stratford 24; to Towcester 15; to Tripontium (near Rugby) 20; to Mancetter 18; to Wall 16. Average 18.8 miles. Or, again, Portchester to Winchester 17 miles; to Silchester 22; to Dorchester 22; to Bicester 18; to Towcester 19. Average 19.6 miles. On the Fosse Way the distances were greater. Thus, Exeter to Ilchester 44 (perhaps three marches); to Bath 30 (two marches); to Cirencester 29 (two marches); to Leicester 73 miles (probably four); to Lincoln 48 (three marches). Where we do not find regular stations there were sometimes camps of a more or less permanent character. Indeed, many of the towns no doubt started by being merely camps and then grew into populous centres.

There are several interesting cases of towns that have slightly changed their location since Roman days, the centre of gravity having shifted. Several of the ports both on the sea and at the navigable head of rivers have been referred to, so they need not be

again mentioned, though I omitted, I think, the cases of Rochester and Ribchester, the forerunners of Chatham and Preston. The inland examples situated upon rivers which have been at some time navigable, are Caistor and Norwich, Castor and Peterborough, Godmanchester and Huntingdon, Magnae and Hereford, Wroxeter and Shrewsbury; then there are other cases such as Wall and Lichfield, Templeborough and Rotherham, Aldburgh and Boroughbridge, Binchester and Bishop Auckland, Mancetter and Atherstone. Several of the Roman stations have now developed into important railway centres. Foremost of these are Doncaster, York and Carlisle. Amongst other interesting examples of Roman towns and their correlatives in the railway world, particularly in the case of Watling Street and the London and North Western Railway, may be mentioned Fenny Stratford contrasted with Bletchley, Stony Stratford with Wolverton (the L. and N. W.R. carriage works), Tripontium with Rugby.

Dunstable is an interesting case. Of Celtic origin, as the first syllable of its name suggests, it must have become more prominent when Watling Street was constructed. For some time it was the centre of the straw hat trade. Latterly this has almost left it and gone to Luton, simply owing to the fact that the main line of the Midland Railway runs through the latter town. Here we have an important instance of the result of change in the direction of a highway.

Roman stations that have lapsed into insignificant villages and have not been succeeded by an equivalent centre we sometimes find were outposts or forts protecting an important town. Such were Ebchester and Lanchester in the county of Durham, two posts on the road from Binchester to Corbridge, a stronghold situated on the wall between Newcastle and Carlisle.

Then, again, we find cases of cities that are as prominent to-day as in the Roman period, *e.g.*, Manchester and Leicester. The latter lay at the junction of Watling Street and the road from Colchester to Chester.

The city above all others which undoubtedly has arisen from the sheer excellence of its geographical position although late in history, is Birmingham. Its site is close to the point of intersection of two Roman roads, one coming from the Severn Valley and the other branching from the Fosse Way at Bourton. Thus any traffic destined for the central and northern parts of England, which came from the south-west, had perforce to pass through this point. Thus in a sense its history may be said to begin. Standing midway between the Severn and the Trent Valleys at the intersection of the stream of traffic between the Thames, the Severn, the Humber and the Mersey, in the very heart of the zone of traffic that we

examined earlier in this paper, Birmingham could not fail to become of great importance at the commencement of the industrial period. It is interesting to notice what a centralized position it holds. Taking a series of circles, ever lessening, it is practically equi-distant from (1) Hull and London, (2) Leeds and Cardiff, (3) Bristol, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield, (4) Gloucester, Nottingham, (5) Burton, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Rugby, Leicester, (6) Wolverhampton, Coventry and Leamington. It is hardly believable that in maps of the early part of the eighteenth century the name of Birmingham does not even appear, while at the commencement of the railway era it had become the most prominent industrial city of the Midlands, and now can only be regarded as a great metropolis.

It is a remarkable fact that out of the thirty English Cathedral cities no less than nineteen were British or Roman settlements, while three others, Bristol, Hereford and Lichfield had Roman stations in the immediate neighbourhood. Further, out of the forty capitals of counties, twenty-two were British or Roman stations.

After the Roman period the roads lapsed into decay, which continued right down through the middle ages into modern times.

As regards the ports in use in later times Stamford on the Welland was in all likelihood a Danish port, especially as Market Deeping, a few miles lower down the river, had considerable trade in the Middle Ages. Ely, Canterbury, and Lincoln were burnt by the Danes, showing that the Ouse, the Stour and the Witham were navigable at these points. The records of the Middle Ages in this respect are scanty, but we know that Cambridge continued to be an important port, and also Doncaster in all probability. In the thirteenth century the river Hull was navigable up to Beverley, and so were the Yorkshire Ouse and the Ure as far as Boroughbridge near Aldburgh, a Roman town. Ipswich at this period rose into prominence. Sir John Fortescue, writing in 1451, said:—"England is endowed and honoured with many good harbours, 'roadys' (roadsteads) and 'coverts' from Newcastle up to the river Saverne." He mentions nearly fifty of these.

From the same document it appears that the Thames as far as Bercot near Dorchester was navigable. In Henry VIII.'s reign the Lea was navigable from Ware to London, and also the Tyne for fourteen miles from its mouth, which would include Newcastle, so was also the Exe in Devonshire, while there is a record of the river Stour being deepened to allow vessels to reach Canterbury. With the exception of the river Tyne, throughout the middle ages until the seventeenth century the most

important rivers for the purposes of navigation were in the south of England, south of the Wash, owing to the natural flow of trade with the Continent, and it is interesting to notice that the two towns of Boston and Lynn on the Wash had the reputation of having the largest shipping next to the port of London.

In Roman times the navigable streams were probably used to supplement the roads. When, however, as time went on the Roman roads fell into decay, the rivers became conspicuous as *the chief means of transit*. Thus we find King's Lynn commanding the mouths of the Ouse and Nen and Boston controlling the Witham and the Welland, becoming prominent ports for transshipment into smaller boats which could navigate to Ely, Cambridge and Peterborough, on the one hand, and Lincoln, Market Deeping and Stamford on the other. The importance of Norwich too was largely due to its position on a navigable stream. Practically all the cathedral cities—Lincoln, Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Bristol, Exeter, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Chester, Carlisle, Durham, York, in addition to those already mentioned, lie on navigable rivers or estuaries—hence their importance. Of the others, Southwell is close to the Trent; Llandaff is close to Cardiff; Ripon lies a few miles above Boroughbridge on the Ure; St. Albans and Lichfield lie close to Watling Street, which was presumably always in more or less good preservation.

Then there were many rich abbey towns situate upon or close to navigable rivers, as Swineshead near Boston, Crowland close to the Welland, Beverley-on-Hull, Selby on the Yorkshire Ouse, Walsingham near Wells in Norfolk, Dorchester on the Thames, Romsey on the Test, Tewkesbury on the Severn, Christchurch at the mouth of the Avon, etc., etc.

Although the Roman roads were broken up often for building material, the mere fact that many roads to-day follow their tracks pretty closely proves that some at least were never wholly destroyed. The most notable sections which were utilized as trunk roads when we first find definite records on which one can rely, in the early part of the eighteenth century, after the Turnpike Acts, were Watling Street between Dover and London and between St. Albans and Weedon station, the Bath road between London and Egham and between Newbury and Beckhampton, sections of the Sussex Stane Street between London and Epsom and between Dorking and Pulborough, Ermine Street between Ware and Chiesterton, a village near Peterborough, and between Sleaford and Lincoln, and the whole of the road between London and Norwich. The portion of the latter between London and Colchester is of unique interest since it has never changed its course since British or Roman times and the railway route

parallels it all the way. Other sections that remained unchanged lay between Wigan and Lancaster, Penrith and Carlisle, Newcastle and Morpeth; Kenfig, Newport and Mitcheldean; Gloucester, Worcester and Bromsgrove. The lines of many other Roman roads have since that time been restored. Some have become main, some second class roads, some nothing but grass lanes. Some are mere tracks.

Turning now to the development of the road system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the first thing to notice is the increased number of main roads. If a large circle of thirty miles radius be drawn around London, it is found that the number of roads at the point of intersection in Roman times was seven, in the eighteenth century seventeen, in the nineteenth twenty-five. To-day the railways number twenty.

In Roman times when the population was small and the settlements more or less fixed by the march of the legion, when the country was largely unreclaimed, the road system was simpler. Two hundred years ago the country had become more or less evenly settled. Hamlets have grown into market towns, their distance apart being to some extent governed by the distance which a man could ride outwards to market and homewards in the day. A network of tracks, lanes and roads, usually so bad that contemporary writers declare that it was luck indeed in many parts of the country to escape without a broken axle, had by this time covered the country. The principal cities, market towns and ports were linked together in a more or less haphazard manner. When the Turnpike Acts were passed in the reign of Charles II. some attempt was made to organise the system, but the chief roads still remained in a disgraceful condition for the most part, besides being extremely tortuous, and it was not till quite the end of the eighteenth century that they were made sufficiently good to permit regular coaches to run and posting across country to be undertaken. As before London was linked up with the various ports by main roads which fanned out gradually from it, but far more distinctly than in Roman times the metropolis was the centre of the road system.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the ports or terminal points of roads leading direct from London were:—Dover, Hythe, Rye, Newhaven, Brighton and Shoreham, Arundel, Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Poole, Dorchester, Exeter, Plymouth and Lands End, Barnstaple and Bridgewater, Bristol and Wells, Gloucester, Cardiff and Swansea, Montgomery, Shrewsbury and Welshpool, Chester and N. Wales, Lancaster and Carlisle, Derby, Richmond, York, Berwick and Newcastle, Flamborough and Hull, King's Lynn, Wells, Norwich, Harwich and Yarmouth.

An examination of these and the principal cross country roads mentioned by Ogilby in 1720, the authority for the early part of the eighteenth century, reveals the fact that there was communication by road between the following ports: Bristol and Westchester, as Chester was known at this period; Bristol and Exeter; Bristol, Gloucester and Worcester; Gloucester, Cardiff and Swansea; Bristol and Weymouth; Cardiff and Chester via Builth; Exeter, Barnstaple and Ilfracombe; Bristol, Bridgewater and Barnstaple; Plymouth, Dartmouth, Exeter and Minehead; Exeter and Weymouth; Poole, Christchurch and Lymington; Chichester and Arundel; Dover, Deal, Sandwich and Canterbury; Harwich, Ipswich and Yarmouth; Harwich and King's Lynn; King's Lynn and Norwich extended to Yarmouth some years later; Hull and Flamborough; Tynemouth and Carlisle; Carlisle and Egremont; Lancaster and Carlisle; Lancaster, Whitby and Scarborough via Skipton and York; York and Chester; York and Newcastle.

It is noticeable that Hull is in a somewhat isolated position at this period, there being no road worthy of the name between that city and York, while neither Liverpool nor Manchester has as yet commenced its career. Southampton, Poole and Chichester on the south coast had access to the central part of England through Oxford, Banbury and Coventry. The three last named formed the key of the road system since they connected the south and southwest with the north-west; of the three *Coventry* was the most important. What *Etocetum* was in Roman times, and what Birmingham and Rugby combined are to-day, that position did Coventry hold in the road period. Coventry lay on the main road from London to (1) Carlisle, (2) Chester, (3) Shrewsbury. To it converged roads from (1) Bristol, Cheltenham, Stratford and Warwick, (2) Oxford, Banbury and the south, (3) Hereford and Worcester, (4) Cambridge and Northampton, (5) Leicester, (6) Derby and Manchester. Thus its importance can hardly be over estimated.

The other principal road centres in England during the first half of the eighteenth century were Exeter, Bristol, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Cambridge and York.

Many additions and alterations were made in the main routes for the mail or stage coaches at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For example, the following routes were abandoned: (1) Uxbridge to Worcester via Buckingham and Banbury, (2) Dorking to Arundel, (3) Stockbridge, Cranborne to Blandford on the Weymouth road, (4) Andover to Barnstaple via Warminster, (5) Chippenham to Bristol via Marchfield, (6) Birmingham to Shrewsbury, Welshpool via Bridgenorth, (7) Chester to Conway via Denbigh, (8) Gloucester to Newport via Monmouth, (9) New-

castle-under-Lyme to Preston, (10) Mansfield to Richmond via Barnsley, (11) York to Northallerton via Boroughbridge, (12) St. Neots to Oakham, (13) Luton to Kettering.

In their stead the following roads were made or utilized: (1) Watford, Tring, Aylesbury, Buckingham, Brackley, Banbury, thence to Shrewsbury via Stratford and Kidderminster, (2) Arundel via Godalming and Petworth, (3) Stockbridge to Blandford via Salisbury, (4) Andover to Barnstaple via Wincanton and Taunton, also to Exeter (this road was an important relief road to the south-west), (5) Chippenham to Bristol via Bath, (6) Birmingham to Shrewsbury via Wolverhampton, (7) Chester to Conway via Holywell, (8) Gloucester to Newport via Chepstow, (9) Newcastle-under-Lyme to Liverpool via Warrington and via Congleton to Manchester, Bolton, Preston, (10) Richmond reached via Doncaster, and Leeds from Mansfield via Sheffield and Barnsley, (11) York and Northallerton via Thirsk, (12) St. Neots to Alconbury on the Old North Road, (13) Welwyn to Kettering through Bedford and Hingham Ferrers.

Important new roads were constructed (1) from Hockcliffe near Watling Street to a point between Stone and Nantwich in Cheshire; this road passed through Northampton, returned to Watling Street at High Cross, thence through Lichfield to Stafford; (2) from Shrewsbury to Bangor; (3) from Derby to Manchester via Leek and Macclesfield; (4) between Boroughbridge and Penrith, the Roman road being brought into use; (5) from Thirsk to Tynemouth; (6) York to Beverley and Hull.

The cross country roads used for posting are naturally found to have largely increased in number at the close of the road period, and are also more direct than before. After radiating from the metropolis the roads lie parallel to one another, the average distance being about ten to twelve miles apart. Thus from Worcester to Spalding, a distance of ninety-five miles, nine, and from Shrewsbury to Lincoln (hundred miles) eight main roads are crossed. In this way we find the average distance between parallel main roads coincident with the average radius of influence exercised by a market town. In the future construction of motor roads there is little doubt but that there will be a return to the general design common to the Roman roads and the railways, *i.e.*, of a main trunk road with branches leading off it.

Before concluding this somewhat discursive paper—for to cover the whole ground it has been necessary to deal briefly with various subjects—it would be amiss not to touch upon one important topic, *viz.*, the period of canal construction in England. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the problem of carrying coal from the Midland collieries to the industrial centres became acute. The expense of haulage

by road, no doubt augmented by the bad condition of the roads themselves at that time, turned the attention of engineers to transportation by water. The success of the Duke of Bridgewater's scheme in this direction soon spread, until the whole country was covered with a network of canals, linking up the various river systems, so that not only coal, but all kinds of heavy freight were carried in this way. Thus, as in the Middle Ages when the river assumed the nature of the highway, water again became the medium of transportation. The relation of canal and road may be compared to the relief lines for goods traffic and the express lines on our four-track railways to-day.

To sum up, then, it has been seen how the whole structural plan of the road system since the Roman period, and possibly to some extent earlier, has been based upon the position of the ports—that some cities and towns inland owing to their situation upon navigable rivers have also been largely responsible for the routes taken by the roads. Further, that as a result of this linking up of the ports, of which London was the dominant factor, a certain zone of commercial movement followed the course taken by the principal roads.

An endeavour has been made to bring out the salient points and to draw some comparison between the highway system in British, Roman, mediæval, eighteenth century, nineteenth century and railway periods, and to show what are the principal variations where such existed in the routes followed, and as far as possible the effect that such changes have wrought in the history of many cities and towns, which instances have been quoted to show how a centre of population may be shifted, obliterated or created as a result.

G. MONTAGU.

SOCIOLOGY AND ITS RACIAL APPLICATION.*

PART I. EXPLANATORY.

PROFESSOR HOBHOUSE has defined Sociology as being the science of society, and in this broadest sense most sociological students would, I think, agree with him. The science of society implies a *collective* as distinct from an *individual* point of view and as covering broadly all collective or social outlooks, comparative in the lower animals and human in ourselves; and in the human division of sociology, the three important fields of biology and the groupings of individual citizens; of education and the effect of social inheritance; of economics and the production and exchange of commodities in relation to geographical situation and climate and changing human needs.

Sociology is thus like biology in this that it unites several sub-sciences in one point of view. Just as the biological outlook includes in our field of vision morphology, physiology and psychology so sociology takes a larger survey than economics, the social side of education, the hereditary endowment of individual citizens, or the co-operation of these differing individualities into social groups—for it includes them all. Hence social students have to consider what is best for society as a whole, constituted as it necessarily is of groups of men, women and children organised in occupations (schools, trades and professions) and geographically and industrially in town, suburban and country areas.

Hence also has grown up the study of mass or social psychology (the study of public opinion under varying circumstances); of Public Health as distinct from individual health; of school education and the needs of citizenship as distinct from self-culture;¹ of economic laws of supply and demand as distinct from the individual desires of one or a few persons. Essentially the sociological outlook is this collective one that includes the three fields of biology, education, and economics viewed from a public or collective point of view.

Race is also a collective term but, unlike that of society, it is extremely hard to define. In fact, as against mere theory, there probably never has existed at any time a large homogeneous group of individuals having very similar characteristics. Height, weight, colouring, proportions of growth, differ so widely in

* A paper read before the Sociological Society, December 13, 1910.

1. To some extent the school has trenched upon the individual side of life.

different individuals that while types may be picked out from any human aggregate, one fairly representative type never does seem to exist in large numbers by itself. Differences of stature are so inconstant that among an isolated island people like the Japanese a tall variety (the wrestlers of Japan) may be seen side by side with the short stature of the people as a whole. Differences of body weight may be found in Celtic-Irish and Celtic-Scotch types, and proportions of bodily growth are so varied that it is rare even for different members of one family to show any close resemblance; while different degrees of femininity and masculinity can be found in every nationality, though it is no doubt true that European peoples as a whole have more marked sex characteristics than Asiatic, and in this connection the contrast between the Ainu and the true Japanese is very instructive. Even such differences as those of long-headed and wide-headed cannot be shown to have been uniformly persistent, and in all these characteristics cross classifications would have to be made, as the long-headed type is not always tall nor the wide-headed always short. If it could be shown that colour results primarily from climate, that dark types are selected mainly in warm and tropical regions while fair are selected mainly in cold, a step towards a permanent racial divergence would have been made. Indeed there are not a few facts in support of this position. The dark races in Europe occupy generally a southern and warmer position than the fair, and possibly the later Greek civilization with its fair people, which followed the Mycenaean, was of Northern European origin and degenerated with its southern habitat. But if so it is strange how well the negro has acclimatized in the United States even though he does mainly inhabit the southern area; and the yellow races seem to manage well under all climates. It will, however, hardly be questioned that in popular feeling the racial line is the colour line, and possibly this feeling, which white, yellow and black peoples all seem to feel, may reflect a true biological racial divergence which it is not safe to pass. If the colour line breaks down, however, it is fairly certain that the term *race* must be abandoned, but I am inclined to think, in spite of the grading of black into white and white into yellow in different parts of the world, in spite of the power of acclimatization which the three forms possess, that colour will be found to be the one true racial difference and that this colour divergence is climatic in its ultimate origin.¹

If this be so, the field of eugenic inquiry will be concerned with two fundamentally different aims: one, in the main to secure a climatic distribution of colour differences adapted to climatic needs—and it will have to study closely the effects of colour crossings

1. This was the view of many older anthropologists, and it may still in the end prove to be the correct one.

and to arrive at positive conclusions as to their wisdom or unwisdom; and two, to study the other biological differences of mass, height, sexual and mental capacity, in relation to developing civilization.

Almost at the first glance at the material which lies at our disposal certain facts of a suggestive nature present themselves. Sir Francis Galton and Taine have both commented on the fact that men of genius are usually of rather massive proportions, and it is indeed specially noticeable if large facial characteristics are chiefly considered. Even the apparently exceptional men like Voltaire have usually one or more features unusually pronounced. This is not to assert that massiveness has any direct relation to the quality of genius, for many primitive peoples and individuals are also so characterised, only it may be that mass gives a certain continuity and tenacity to character which whether existing elsewhere or not is needed for the individuality of genius to be able to assert itself.

Again, sexual characteristics are extremely variable, but a study of the differences of men and women under conditions of primitive and advanced social life demonstrates the fact that there is much greater similarity under primitive than under advanced social conditions. And while there are exceptions to this rule, such as the more primitive Ainus and the more advanced Japanese, the broad fact of the specialization of sex under more civilized conditions is undoubted. Its significance is confirmed by the growing sexual differentiation of the child, from a partially hermaphrodite state before birth to the baby boy and girl at birth with only the primary differences of sex clearly defined, on to maturity where face, shoulders, hips, arms, hands, lower limbs and feet all exhibit sexual differentiation. The pelvis in the child and the savage is relatively less capacious than in the adult and the more civilised, and from Greek sculpture it would appear that the Greeks had smaller heads and hips than ourselves.

Again, the foot is primarily ambulatory in man, the hand manipulatory; and in the arched foot which allows of greater springing power, great protection against shocks of impact and greater poise of the whole figure, in the long thigh, the hips less tilted and the straighter back of white as compared with black races, we may see a greater adaptability to the erect position, and even the balance of the head upon the spine is said to be more centrally placed in white than in negroid races. The baby's foot is flat, its toes more movable, than the adult's; the baby has relatively far shorter lower limbs, and the thigh bone is one of the most conspicuous bones for its increase of growth: and the appearance of the abdomen in the child suggests a more tilted pelvis than in the adult. It may be that these differences are a measure of higher and lower types.

The hand and wrist, again, show extraordinary differences of flexibility, and there can be little doubt that plastic fingers and a thumb freely movable on the palm of the hand are high rather than low characteristics.

It appears probable therefore that some slight addition to height in the type, the adaptation of the whole figure to the erect posture, an increasing specialization of sex, are evolutionary characteristics, and it seems to be true that the features are raised and more finely moulded (as noticed by Mantegazza), while the face is relatively small in relation to the head in the more civilized nationalities.

Without wishing to press these differences too far, it would seem that *colour is climatic rather than cultural*, and that *ambulatory, manipulatory, and expressional*¹ *specialization are strongly suggestive of a change of type under advancing social conditions, and that sex specializations and to a less extent mass and height accentuations are also associated with social growth.*

If we assume with Wallace and Reid and to a certain extent with Sir Francis Galton that the advance of social life is not due in part at least to a change of type, and that by social not biological inheritance, by the accumulation of cultural traditions and improved educational methods, is the cause of progress, then it is difficult to explain these biological differences of form between the less and the more civilized peoples, between also the child and the adult. And if the differences of social life have not made some difference in the mental and physical capacities of men and women when they are as great as those which separate Saxon, mediæval, and modern times from each other; if these differences of infantile, child, and adult mortalities under these differing conditions are only due to disease germs, and their treatment and social stresses and strains have had no survival value in life, then it is difficult to realise, if these immense social differences can be provided for by education alone, what use modern eugenics can have for its existence.

If it be granted, however, that social conditions do actually exert a selective action upon man now, and have done so in the past, then the problem of environmental eugenics must be studied in relation to the voluntary forms of positive and negative eugenics, and it is scarcely necessary to add that at the boundary line of environmental eugenics the student of sociology will enter its borders.

If, on the other hand, it be assumed that with the improvement of modern hygiene, with advancing social conditions, town and

1. As shown by the finer form of features in white men and women.

country improvements of surroundings and increased sobriety of national life, there is a tendency for worse rather than better types to survive, it will be evident that both eugenics and sociology will be mutually faced with stultification. For bad hygienic and social surroundings are certainly an evil in society, and alcohol is at the best a more than questionable factor in national life, and it is certain that neither medical men nor sociologists will abandon their efforts to produce social amelioration.

If, however, it be urged that this failure of social reform to improve the type is precisely the opportunity for the eugenicist, the question which must force itself upon all thinking minds will necessarily be this: Can eugenics so interfere not only with the lives of the few admittedly unhealthy types but also with the many healthy as to modify the conditions of modern marriage without harm? Sir Francis Galton believes that it can be done by public opinion being educated to the new point of view, but it is surely more than doubtful if the varying conditions of marriage ceremonies in primitive forms of life afford any argument for more civilized societies. Individual characteristics are much more marked under modern conditions; the mode of living of husband and wife is much more intimate, and the problem of the care and education of children is of a longer and more permanent character. If human love under conditions of healthy life is not *on the whole* a good racial guide as well as a good individual and personal one, it might be a very dangerous experiment—even supposing one could positively assert which individuals would pair well for parentage, which we certainly cannot—to attempt so to mould public opinion that a different sorting of individuals in marriage might manifest itself. Happiness in home life depends so fully upon suitability of tastes that to marry for mating and racial reasons rather than for mental tastes might even result in the break-up of domestic life in its entirety—a possibility so formidable that no sociologist would seriously consider it. In other words, if sociological and eugenic reforms are working in different directions they *could not* supplement each other, for the efforts of eugenicists would be so far-reaching as unavoidably to upset the *character* relations of marriage, which are sociological and upon which modern society in large part depends. This is not a hostile criticism of eugenics: it is merely the unavoidable inference which a direct knowledge, based upon medical experience of domestic life, forces upon one.

But if the eugenicist admits that, generally speaking, social and hygienic reforms do favour a more frail type, though it may be a more mental type of citizen *and one not unhealthy*, that to a large extent human love is eugenic in its action, then the social reformer and the eugenicist can work side by side; but certainly

without this admission of the value of environment as a eugenic factor they cannot do so.

In like manner if race is primarily based upon climate and not upon a permanent racial superiority and inferiority, if sociological and eugenic efforts can combine to evolve high types of white, yellow and black races, then races may still justify their natural feelings not to cross and form Creoles, Eurasians, and similar half-caste breeds without being offensive to each other, and may realise that the distribution of races should be geographical and even glory in each other's futures. Unless at least the possibility of such views being the true ones be admitted, it is difficult to realise how sociologists and eugenists can come together with policies that, while differing, are yet harmonious. And unless clearer ideas are formed as to the position of the various races of men and their rightful places in the world, the modern practical politician may find himself so beset with conflicting advice as to be forced to cry "a plague on both your houses" and go his own way regardless of science and as blunderingly as the statesman in the past has almost unavoidably had to do.

PART II. A CONSIDERATION OF DATA.

The leading conclusions in Part I. rest upon three main lines of evidence: one, that colour differences have always been regarded in the popular mind as being the most definite dividing lines of race, a view which has been more than once advocated by well-known anthropologists; two, that other differences are not racial but vary within each race as fully as in different races; and three, that of these other differences those of sex and physical specialization for mind needs are definitely of a social or cultural rather than of a racial origin.

If it can be shown that colour differences do correspond to some kind of climatic equivalent, and that sexual and mental bodily adaptations follow or are associated with differences in social life, a very strong claim will have been made for the contention that educational and economic differences are not the sole factors in human social progressive and retrogressive life, and that the type of human being has some relation to his cultural possibilities. Further, if it can be demonstrated that with changing social environments *corresponding* biological changes have taken place in the bodily forms of men and women living under these conditions, at least a presumptive case, demanding serious inquiry, will have been made out for the belief that *varying social conditions do select varying types adapted to their varying social demands.*

Should this position be true, then it is obvious that degenerate and retrogressive characteristics in citizens of any given nation, as

well as evolutionary tendencies, have a sociological environmental cause, and can in part at least be treated along sociological lines; hence the eugenic method is not an exclusive one in checking national deterioration of physique and mental capacity. The sociological outlook would thus gain vastly in importance; medical and sanitary environmental reform would be fully justified from a biological as well as from a social point of view; all sane altruistic effort towards social betterment could be accepted, and the antagonism between eugenic and sociological policies could be overcome.

The first point, that colour differences have always been regarded in the popular mind as being the most distinctive features of race and racial prejudice, need not be discussed since it is a matter of historic fact. Differences between white peoples, or black or yellow peoples, have never had the same significance as those between white and black or white and yellow or yellow and black. And the importance of colour in racial classifications is evidenced from the earlier works of anthropological writers like Blumenbach and Prichard down to Keane and others at the present time. There remain therefore two points to be considered in some detail: one, that colour differences do not vary more widely within than without the race as other differences do; two, that sexual and mentally significant bodily differences do follow lines of cultural evolution and devolution.

(1) *Colour as compared with other variations in the Human Form.*

Variations within the Race.

1. *Height.*

O'Brien, the Irish giant, between 8 and 9 feet in height.

Chang, the Chinese giant, about 8 feet.

I do not know of a similar instance, though no doubt there have been many, among negro peoples.

Albert Skinner and Judith his wife, 25 and 26 inches respectively in height, had 14 infants 'well formed, robust, and of normal height' (Gould and Pyle).

For yellow and black races I have no accurate information.

Variations among Races.

1. *Height.*

"Excluding the abnormal dwarfish and gigantic specimens of the showmen the height ranges from about 1'40 to 1'80 metres . . . or say between 4 feet 7 inches and 6 feet 2 inches . . .; this for the male adult, from which for the female must be deducted about 8 per cent. in the tall and 5 per cent. in the short races."

Keane, "Ethnology," p. 188.

Here it is manifest that the extremes within the race vary much more widely than the extremes in different races, and as two kinds

of dwarfs and giants are recognised, one suffering from disease and one not, Professor Keane might preferably have used the word *extreme* rather than *abnormal* in the passage above quoted. In the case of the Skinner dwarfs, the fact that the children were normal and returned to the average type in size, is strong evidence that wide limits in weight may be associated with quite normal health and probably are of a physiological character. But there are no races of giant-like or of *extreme* dwarf-like proportions; the variations are thus greater within the race than without. This contention is still true if only very tall and very short individuals are considered within the race and giants and dwarfs are excluded.

2. *Inborn mental capacity within the Race.*

Extremes of tone deafness, colour blindness, grade imperceptibly into the highest capacities of musical and colour appreciation.

Visual and auditory memories may be almost absent or so powerful as to be almost self-recording.

2. *Inborn mental capacity among Races.*

Differences among races almost certainly less extreme.

To deal adequately with sensory and higher mind powers would occupy too much space. But there is certainly no race that is either as completely tone deaf or colour blind as are some individuals who are yet perfectly healthy; and the corresponding capacities of fine tone and colour appreciations and the power of creative composition—as in the great musicians Bach and Beethoven and the great artists—Turner, etc., quite obviously have no corresponding racial counterpart. The variations in mind capacity are thus also greater within the race than without.

3. *Sexual specialization within the Race.*

All grades of primary and secondary* differentiation are known and recognised in medical literature and examples recorded in white and other races.

3. *Sexual specialization among Races.*

"All American, Mongoloid, and Negroid peoples are normally beardless" (Keane "Ethnology"). With some other differences of a trifling character these are the main lines of sex divergence.

Here also there is much greater variety within than outside the racial border.

4. *Colour.* Of colour alone can it be said that the extremes are greater between races than in different members of one race.

* For use of this term see later discussion of sex characteristics.

Thus among black peoples there is no doubt a varying intensity of dark coloured pigment; among yellow peoples the variability is considerable, and among white there are many who are for white races very dark. But a black child is never born of pure white parents, or a white of black, or a yellow of either. Colour differences then strikingly contrast with others in this, that differences are greater among different races than among individuals of one race or people. *This is strong evidence in support of the conclusion that colour is a racial and possibly a climatic character, while other differences are due to other causes.*

(2) *The Relation of Sexual and Mental Differences to Social Organisation.*

1. SEX DIFFERENCES AMONG PEOPLES.

Without considering this matter too fully for the limits of a paper such as this, certain points may be emphasised:—

1. That in individual development there is an unbroken and increasing sex specialization from an hermaphrodite early state before birth to the full specialization of adult mature life after birth.
2. That this increasing specialization of sex appears to conform to what is known paleontologically about man's evolution in the past.
3. If we consider *primary* sex differences to be those which are directly concerned with the physiological demands of sex, *secondary* those which are constantly found in all species, and *tertiary* those which appear to be specially associated with only one or two closely related species, it will be found that man is rich in secondary characteristics though poor in tertiary ones, that his form is very fully specialized, on the whole perhaps more specialized than any other mammalian type. Nor will it be disputed that men and women live in much more intimate sex association under modern conditions of civilization than under primitive conditions, and there are greater physiognomical resemblances among the more barbaric peoples corresponding to a less specialized sex state. Possibly the Ainu and the Japanese form some exception to this point. The cause for sex specialization is not far to seek. The European pelvis is wider, allowing for the birth of a larger headed child, and the specialization in this region is not isolated but manifests itself in other parts of the body—face, limbs, and hands and feet; in a divergence in muscular power, and in mental qualities of the mind.

The whole phenomena of mental idealization that girls and boys manifest in late adolescence and early youth prove that sex

has a human and social influence, and the fact that these ideals are more fully developed in forward than in backward peoples suggests if it does not prove that sex specialization is related to social evolution and progress.

2. MENTAL DIFFERENCES OF BODY AND MIND.

The evolution of man's mental powers can be studied in four ways: (1) By a study of the child, (2) by a study of race, (3) by the study of certain devolutional drugs, notably alcohol, which attack the higher centres of the brain first and the more primitive later, (4) by a study of the one unquestionable devolutional disease, that known as General Paralysis of the Insane.

It is not possible in a single lecture to offer more than a few suggestions on this head, but these are of a striking nature, though nothing like so striking as a complete comparison of those four lines of research would reveal.

In the child the features of the face are wide and flat, they are wide and flat among primitive peoples. In the child individuality of mind appears as a self-conscious influence in late adolescence. Dudley Kidd has pointed out that personality among Kaffirs is slow in disclosing itself and does not reach the stage of complete separation from the tribe without the white man's influence. One of the effects of chronic alcoholism is the loss of the finer lines of expression from the face, and the same characteristic is a recognised symptom of General Paralysis of the Insane. The finer movements for writing are acquired by the child at about ten years of age, or in about half the time of the child's development. These same movements are early effected in General Paralysis of the Insane and are completely lost later on in the disease. The child takes about ten to fifteen years to perfect its movements of walking, as may be seen from the recognition of the value of dancing during the adolescent period and the recognition of adolescence as the awkward age. The primitive man has a corresponding love of dancing, and inco-ordinated movements in walking appear early in alcoholic narcosis and in General Paralysis of the Insane. A child is several years in learning to speak and pronounce all words distinctly, and in alcoholic and in general paralytic states the speech is affected in an alarming degree. The relation of language to sociological capacity has never been worked out, but it is inconceivable in the face of these facts that some relation would not be demonstrated. The development of ideals, of the power of criticism, and of self-control belong to the latest stages of child development; these are little manifested among primitive peoples; are the first to be destroyed in narcosis and in the corresponding insane state. Egotism and exaggerated importance of self are characteristic of youth, of the primitive mind, and of the

alcoholic and diseased devolutional states. Lastly, it is recognised that sex control of passions is weak in early adolescence; dances of a certain nature prove it to be weak among primitive and even ancient peoples, and alcohol and immorality and General Paralysis and immorality are well known to be associated.

Is it conceivable that these extraordinarily close resemblances, between evolutional states in the child and in the race and devolutional states under narcotization and one form of mental disease, do not reveal that at least to some extent man's physical and mental capacity is closely related to his social surroundings? And if so then sexual and mental capacities are unlike those of colour in this that they are cultural rather than climatic in quality, and that social environments tend to narrow or check the growth of certain types and hence have some eugenic value.

We may therefore conclude that sociology has a eugenic value; that the essential characteristic of race is the biological quality of colour, with its physiological and psychological equivalents, and lastly that all other qualities, especially those of sex and inborn mental capacity, are related to different forms of social environment, different surroundings selecting different types of men and women, and that therefore biological, educational, and economic (including geographical) factors are all real forces in social evolution and act and react upon each other. Further, if colour be the most distinctive feature of race, each race is capable of development; none need be permanently subordinated, and more friendly racial feelings may be fostered upon the basis that there is a scientific position and future for each upon the earth if the question be sufficiently carefully investigated.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.

DR. FRAZER ON TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY.*

SOCIOLOGISTS have eagerly looked forward to the publication of Professor Frazer's new work on Totemism and now that it has appeared they will recognise that the author has done inestimable service in collecting for them such a mass of data, the weight of which, so to speak, is lightened by that charm of literary style which Professor Frazer has accustomed us to expect in all his writings. The monograph consists of reprints of the author's famous little book on Totemism, published in 1887, and of his well-known *Fortnightly* articles, an ethnographical survey of Totemism, a summary, and conclusions. Doubtless *Totemism* was worth reprinting as it stood, if time failed for revision, as it gives a useful general view of the subject, but as it is printed in the first volume and the notes and corrections in the fourth volume the reader is given a great deal of unnecessary trouble. Valuable space is taken, which might have been devoted to other matter, in reprinting the *Fortnightly* articles, as the essential facts in them are repeated more than once in subsequent pages. Indeed, there is a good deal of repetition in the work, which, while it may enhance the literary style of the several sections, is somewhat wearying to the student who wants to get at the facts or conclusions. The greater part of the work consists of a simply invaluable summary of Totemism and Exogamy throughout the world; the physical environment and the social condition of the several peoples are also sketched in a masterly manner. The stores of Professor Frazer's learning appear to the ordinary student to be inexhaustible, and one glances through the footnotes with a sensation of awe combined with gratitude. In the preface we are told that he has rigidly excluded all information which appeared to him "to be of dubious or less than dubious authority." In his eclectic treatment of Australian evidence he has evidently relied on the opinion of Professor Baldwin Spencer, one result of which is the total disregard of the investigations of the Rev. C. Strehlow (I, p. 186 f.n.) which will cause considerable disappointment among English readers. It is probable, if the truth were known, that the records of some other missionaries are equally "tainted," though their statements are accepted by students. Possibly for a similar reason the numerous writings of Mr. R. H. Mathews are ignored, but, as Mr. A. R. Brown has shown (*Man*, 1910, p. 55), facts of importance and not otherwise obtainable can be gleaned from his writings: for example, the existence of irregular marriages and in

* *Totemism and Exogamy.* By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. Four volumes Macmillan & Co., 1910. 50/- net.

some eight-class systems the class of the child is determined by that of its mother. One would have liked to hear Professor Frazer's opinion concerning Mrs. Langloh Parker's discovery that the Euahlayi phratry names mean light blood and dark blood; the Rev. J. Mathew has also shewn that a similar terminology exists in other parts of Australia. We can heartily thank Professor Frazer for providing us with what he regards as reliable information, but there are occasions when students will have to take the risk of quoting from those investigators whom he has discarded.

Many readers will regret that Professor Frazer has not taken this opportunity to give a systematic classification or tabulation of totemism, as there are several varieties, which, while they may have sprung from certain fundamental ideas, do not appear to be otherwise related to each other, and have, moreover, developed along different lines; also among members of the same race typical totemism undergoes modifications and degeneration. A tabulation setting forth these variations would be very instructive and might prevent some misapprehension. If Professor Frazer had done this he would probably not have employed the term "class" for what he admits are two quite distinct social phenomena; thus he says (iv, p. 26), "On the whole the Australian evidence points to the conclusion that the phratries and sub-phratries, or classes and sub-classes, are social divisions of an entirely different order from the totemic class. . . ." "With Howitt and Fisch I now prefer to call these exogamous divisions [phratries and classes in Australia] by the names of classes and sub-classes." (iv, p. 233). When dealing with the tribes of North-West America, he refers to the "two great classes or phratries of the Raven and the Eagle" among the Tlingits (iii, p. 267), each of which contains several clans, and on p. 280 we read, "The whole Haida stock is divided into two clans or classes which are named respectively the Raven and the Eagle." Thus we have the word class employed interchangeably for a clan and for a phratry in North America, while in Australia the classes "are social divisions of an entirely different order from the totemic clans." The evidence from the North-West Coast seems to point to a condition when there were two, or in some cases perhaps more than two, exogamous totemic groups, which in process of time became sub-divided into sub-groups; these, while retaining the crest of the original group, acquired fresh crests, and the families contained in each sub-group may have their special crest or crests in addition to those of the sub-group and group, new crests and names being constantly introduced. Professor Frazer at one time held a similar view with regard to Australia, but "the evidence now seems to me altogether inadequate to support the inference, which I withdraw accordingly" (iv, p. 264).

J. F. McLennan believed that the origin of exogamy was that, owing to female infanticide, there was a scarcity of women within the group, and men came to think that marriage by capture was the only true marriage; later, the practice of marrying women of their own group not only went out of fashion but was rigorously prohibited. To this Professor Frazer replies that "the general scarcity of women in primitive communities, on which McLennan rested his whole theory of exogamy has not been proved to exist. Further, McLennan's theory does not explain why men abdicated the use of their own women entirely" (iv, p. 87). The section on Exogamy begins with a discussion of the theories of McLennan, Westermarck, Durkheim, and Morgan. In criticising Professor Westermarck's theory, Professor Frazer says (iv, p. 96): "Suppose we admit there is a natural aversion to, or at least a want of inclination for sexual intercourse between persons who have been brought up closely together, it remains difficult to understand how this could have been changed into something very different, namely, an aversion to sexual intercourse with persons near of kin. This change from local exogamy to kinship exogamy is clearly the crucial point of the whole theory. . . . It is not easy to see why any deep human instinct should need to be reinforced by law. Instead of assuming from the legal prohibition of incest that there is a natural aversion to incest, we ought rather to assume that there is a natural instinct in favour of it, and that if the law represses it, as it represses other natural instincts, it does so because civilised men have come to the conclusion that the satisfaction of these natural instincts is detrimental to the general interests of society. . . . Dr. Westermarck's theory was formulated at a time when it was still possible to affirm that 'there does not seem to be a single people which has not made the discovery of fatherhood.' Now we know of tribes in Central and Northern Australia who practise rigid exogamy and are still wholly ignorant of the fact of physical paternity; from which we may safely infer that physical paternity was equally unknown to the still more primitive savages with whom the system of exogamy originated." He adds, "such ignorance is not indeed fatal to the mere existence of a monogamous family of the type supposed by Dr. Westermarck" (iv, p. 99). Later on (p. 154) he says, "It seems perfectly possible that some peoples may have achieved this object [the prevention of marriage of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons] directly by a simple prohibition of consanguineous marriages without resorting to that expedient of dividing the whole community into two intermarrying classes, from which the vast and cumbrous system of exogamy and the classificatory relationships grew by a logical development. . . ." "Even though the primitive forefathers of the Semites and the Aryans may have known

nothing either of totemism or of exogamy, we may with some confidence assume that they disapproved of incest" (iv, p. 154).

As Professor Frazer is so interested in origins it seems strange that he does not refer to the social organisation of the Andamanese and other pygmy folk. Although our information about these peoples is deficient, enough is known about the former to discuss their sociology. It is generally admitted that the Andaman Islanders belong to a very early stratum of humanity, indeed there is some reason to regard them as more "primitive" in certain respects than the Australians. Judging from what Mr. Man tells us (and, though his book is not yet published, we are not aware that Mr. A. R. Brown has said anything to the contrary) these jungle hunters are strictly monogamous, conjugal fidelity being the absolute rule, and there is no trace of totemism or exogamy, the marriage prohibitions being regulated by kinships, "such persons as are known to be even distantly related are forbidden to marry" (Man, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xi, p. 287). Amongst other pygmy people these restrictions do not appear to be so strict, but monogamy seems to be the general rule and totemism is not recorded. Sir Laurence Gomme was the first to suggest in his *Folklore as an Historical Science* (1908) that the nearest approach to the Arunta totemism was to be found among the non-totemic Semang, the pygmy negroes of the Malay Peninsula, the name- or birth-tree being regarded by him as analogous to the well-known Arunta method of obtaining totems. He says, "In the case of the Semangs we have the kinless totemic belief and custom existing within a kinless society. In the case of the Arunta we have the kinless totemism existing in a society based on a kinless organisation still, but containing also full recognition of motherhood and perhaps a recognition of physical fatherhood" (p. 269). The belief of the Semang is not true totemism, though possibly it might have developed into such. Nor does he give his authority for calling the Semang kinless, the only statement on the subject the present writer can find refers to "prohibited degrees of consanguinity" (Skeat and Blagden, ii, p. 218). Sir Laurence may have gone somewhat beyond his authorities, but his main thesis is worth considering, that totemism is, in its origin and principle, a kinless not a kinship system and that we are justified in searching for its origin among people who, so far as our knowledge goes, are in a stage anterior to totemism, and his contention that "the search for the origin of totemism must be made from the women's side of the social group" (p. 257) should not be overlooked.

To return to the problem of exogamy. Professor Frazer criticises Professor Durkheim's theory that exogamy is derived from a religious sentiment based on certain occult or magical

virtues which the savage attributes to blood, above all to menstuous blood. This religious reverence or awe for blood is in its turn traced by him to totemism, which is, in his view, the ultimate source of exogamy. According to him, the totem is not only the ancestor but the god of every totemic clan. "The blood is a thing divine. When it flows, it is the god who is spilled." A man is free to marry or have intercourse with a woman of any other totem, since her god is not his god. Professor Frazer points out, "the relation between a man and his totem is one of simply friendly equality and brotherhood, and by no means one of religious adoration of a deity" (iv, p. 101). "If the awe or horror of menstuous blood is a reason for avoiding marriage with any woman it is a reason for avoiding marriage with all women. Again, Professor Durkheim errs in confusing exogamous classes or phratries with totemic clans; he is of opinion that the exogamous class or phratry is nothing but an original or primary totemic clan which has become sub-divided into a number of secondary totemic clans;" this was Professor Frazer's own earlier view, which he has since withdrawn.

L.H. Morgan held that sexual promiscuity prevailed universally at a very early period of human history, and that exogamy was instituted to prevent a marriage or cohabitation of blood relations, especially of brothers with sisters. "This view furnishes," Professor Frazer says, "the true key to the whole system of exogamy" (iv, p. 105). "The two-class, four-class, and eight-class systems of the Australian aborigines appear to have originated in a series of successive bisections of the community for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin. It is hardly too much to affirm that no other human institution bears the impress of deliberate design stamped on it more clearly than the exogamous classes of the Australian aborigines" (p. 106). Professor Frazer insists on the "primitiveness" of the Australians, but it must be remembered that while a two-group system is found elsewhere, they alone, so far as we know, have elaborated four-class and eight-class systems.

It is dangerous to argue from one group of animals to another, but if we admit that the simian progenitors of man were probably similar in their habits to other anthropoids then there is a *prima facie* case for a more or less temporary family group under the leadership of an old male, a condition admitted by Darwin and adopted by Westermarck and other writers. Mr. J. J. Atkinson, in his *Primal Law* (which, like *Social Origins* by A. Lang, with which it appeared in one volume in 1903, is not referred to by Professor Frazer), gave a hypothetical sketch of the pre-human social development of man based mainly on the analogy of other animals. He was the first to emphasise the effect of male jealousy

which would cause the old male to turn the young males out of his band, who would therefore have to seek for mates without the group. It is assumed that in process of time it became possible for the young males to remain within the group, which was thus immensely strengthened for offence or defence, but only on condition that they went abroad for their wives. Mr. Crawley (Tylor volume, 1907, p. 52) denies, as Atkinson assumes, that an imposed rule can crystallize into an instinct, and seeks an explanation of the law against brother and sister unions in the "sounder psychology" of Mr. Havelock Ellis (whose studies in the *Psychology of Sex* appear to have been overlooked by Professor Frazer), who says, "the normal failure of the pairing instinct to manifest itself in the case of brothers and sisters, or of boys and girls brought up together from infancy, is merely a negative phenomenon due to the inevitable absence under the circumstances of the conditions which evoke the pairing impulse . . . In animals, and in man also when living under primitive conditions, sexual attraction is not a constant phenomenon; it is an occasional manifestation only called out by powerful stimulation. It is not its absence which we need to explain; it is its presence which needs explanation." Mr. Crawley suggests that this exogamous tendency became a legal prohibition against the mating of brother and sister, in the first instance because "in many departments of primitive life we find a naïve desire to, as it were, assist Nature, to affirm what is normal, and later to confirm it by the categorical imperative of custom and law . . . Laws, thus made and with this object, have some justification, and their existence may be due, in some small measure, to the fact that abnormality increases *pari passu* with culture. But it is a grave error to ascribe a prevalence of incest to the period preceding the law against it" (p. 53). Professor Frazer has held more than one view as to the motive behind exogamy, and now he is inclined "to think that exogamy may have sprung from a belief in the injurious and especially the sterilising effects of incest, not upon the persons who engage in it, at least not upon the man, nor upon the offspring, but upon women generally and particularly upon edible animals and plants . . . If that is not the origin of exogamy I must confess to being completely baffled, for I have no other conjecture to offer on the subject" (iv, p. 160). He is disposed "to believe that when exogamy was first instituted in Australia the natives were still divided into totemic clans like those of the Arunta in which totems had not yet become hereditary." We are therefore asked to believe that incest, an act of no recognised practical importance, was held to render women sterile and to endanger the common food-supply; the man personally did not suffer nor did the children, as the latter arose independently of the act. Professor Frazer asks, "But was this really their belief?"

The only serious difficulty in the way of supposing that it was so, is the absence of evidence that such notions are held by the most primitive exogamous peoples, the Australian aborigines . . . ; all the peoples who are known to hold the beliefs in question appear to be agricultural" and fully realise the results of sexual intercourse. Professor Frazer is fully aware of "the danger of relying upon merely negative evidence." In any case it seems strange that an act which was not supposed to have any consequences should have become the object of so much consideration. The theory of a deliberate bisection of a community receives very few supporters amongst students in this country, and it would be interesting to hear Professor Frazer's reply to Mr. Lang's objections and his criticism of the suggestion of the latter that "the apparent division was really an amalgamation of two separate and independent totem groups" (*Social Origins*, p. 36). Mr. Crawley's latest theory is somewhat similar; he holds that the two phratries developed by a natural growth . . . These two original families intermarried and continued to intermarry generation after generation. Each was originally exogamous, and of course remains so because the members of each bear the same name and are therefore 'akin' . . . The totem kins are not subdivisions, but younger branches of the same family" (Tylor volume, p. 55). Another view of the dual exogamous phratry system is that advocated by the Rev. J. Mathew, who regards it as due to two racial elements in the population.

It is impossible in a short review to refer to the various problems dealt with in this book, which doubtless will rouse yet further discussion, but it is possible to assure Professor Frazer of the gratitude of sociologists for the accumulation of a vast amount of material, for the eight maps and admirable index, and heartily to congratulate him on the completion of another arduous task.

A. C. HADDON.

MR ROWNTREE'S SURVEY OF BELGIUM.*

Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's second great contribution to the work of sociological survey was undertaken with a view to the further illumination of the study of poverty in England. To what extent is the degree of primary poverty which he showed to exist in York, and which presumably exists in somewhat less or greater degree throughout the towns of Great Britain, to be attributed, directly or indirectly, to the British land system?

Originally it was Mr. Rowntree's intention to undertake a detailed survey of the land systems of various European countries, and to trace in each the effects upon the industrial and social condition of the mass of the people. In the end he determined to concentrate his own efforts, and those of a great staff of assistants, upon Belgium only, for a period of four years. He found that it was impossible to estimate the effect of one factor upon social well-being without a study of all the other factors which are clearly of considerable importance.

Even as limited to Belgium the work was extremely laborious. In addition to a free utilisation of all available existing official information, whether published or unpublished, Mr. Rowntree undertook a series of special investigations into existing conditions of wages, family budgets, housing, and a number of other aspects of social life. One such inquiry alone, that into the total number of landowners in Belgium, and the size of their respective properties, lasted nineteen months, and occupied the energies of 383 officials of the Belgium Government and 101 clerks privately employed by Mr. Rowntree. It need hardly be said that the result of such a lavish expenditure of skill and labour is a monumental work, of immense and permanent value to all who take seriously the problems of citizenship. In fact this Survey of Belgium is likely to be taken as a model and exemplar for future regional and national surveys; and, for this reason, though it may seem ungracious to ask for more where so much is freely given, I am impelled to express a personal feeling that, valuable as the work is, it would have been considerably more illuminating if the subject had been handled more historically and less statistically—not that history is altogether lacking.

The place and the people—how they have acted and reacted on

* Land and Labour; Lessons from Belgium, by B. Seebohm Rowntree. Macmillan and Co., 1910. 10/6 net.

one another; to what extent internal evolution has been quickened or retarded, modified or thwarted by external pressure and stimulus; how far a common purpose has been evoked, impelling the people to solve the material and moral problems of national life—these are the subjects on which we look for enlightenment to such a survey as this.

In the first place Belgium is predominantly the land of small properties and small agricultural holdings. In this respect it offers the greatest possible contrast to Great Britain, while in the development of its mining, manufactures, and commerce, and the density of its urban population it perhaps more closely resembles England and Wales than does any other country. The seven million odd acres of moderate hill and plain which make up the surface of Belgium consist, as to 28 % of a northern sandy belt, which with a comparatively small area of Polder land stretches from the coast of West Flanders to the German frontier; as to 33 % of a central belt of fertile loam; with a clayey belt more to the south and east occupying 19 % of the area; and beyond the Ardennes and the Jurassic limestones of Luxembourg which together comprise 17 %. The centre and south are rich in coal, iron, and building stone; the sandy belt is naturally one of the most barren soils in Europe, and yet in parts it yields the very largest crops under liberal manuring and the persevering toil of the small holder. Though left to itself it speedily becomes mere shifting sand, it has two merits, the relative warmth of the soil and the ease with which it can be worked in all weathers.

It is probable that the agricultural system of Belgium, now so different from ours, springs from similar origins, and that in, say, the fifteenth century not much difference would have been found between the working of the open field village in the two countries. The three-field system still survives in a number of places; common lands, in spite of the Act of 1847 to facilitate their alienation, still exist to the extent of 579,000 acres, and the intermixture of properties and holdings in the land under cultivation is more pronounced than it would be in England if no Enclosure Act had ever been passed. But whereas in England the balance between manorial lord and villager which characterised feudalism was made to tip over on the side of the lord, and the village community gave place to the system of large estates, in Belgium it evolved in the opposite direction into a system of peasant proprietorship. Then in 1795 Belgium came under the rule of the French Republic, and ever since the provisions of the French code with regard to the equal division of property among the children of the proprietor have been in force, and appear to have been accepted as perfectly right and natural by the people. Hence the sub-division of land still proceeds, and the number of landowners continues to grow,

though not as fast as the total population. There are, by Mr. Rowntree's careful calculations, 719,986 separate landowners in Belgium, owning on an average 9.5 acres each. The cultivators, who numbered 572,250 in 1846, increased in almost as great a ratio as the total population, to 829,625 in 1895. The average size of a holding is only 5.7 acres. Leaving out all holdings of less than an acre, the average size of the remainder in Belgium is $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres, against 28 acres in France, $33\frac{1}{2}$ in Prussia, 49 in Denmark, and 70 in England. It is a suggestive fact that the produce per acre in Belgium, alike in cereals, potatoes, sugar beet, milk produce, and meat far exceeds that of any other countries of larger holdings. And yet the manner of the sub-division of the soil is marked by grave inconveniences. A diagram of a farm of 28 acres split up into 32 separate plots, distant from 5 to 35 minutes walk from the farm house and in all directions, is given as a typical example.

Industrially Belgium is a country of ancient manufacturing industries which are still undergoing the transition from hand to machine labour. In 1896 the homeworkers numbered over 10 per cent. of the total population occupied in industry, there being over 76,000 homeworkers engaged in textile industries alone against 82,000 engaged in textile factories. Perhaps the very fact that this transition is still going on is the main explanation of the relatively low wages, long hours, and backward organisation of the industrial workers, for which Mr. Rowntree points out various other causes, all no doubt actual ones, but, I fancy, subsidiary.

The population at the 1900 census was 589 per square mile, considerably denser than that of England and Wales (558 in 1901) and more than three times as dense as that of France (191). Further, it steadily increases by about 1 per cent. per annum through excess of births over deaths, and, strange to say, by a small excess of immigration over emigration. The Flemish speaking districts, which are much more completely under the control of the Catholic Church and more illiterate than the Walloon French speaking districts have the higher birth rates and the higher death rates; in particular the infantile death rate is about 50 per cent. higher among the Flemings. The intense political antagonism between the Catholics and Liberals, and the still more embittered feud between Catholics and Socialists, dominates both social and religious life. It has thwarted the progress of elementary education to such an extent that about 20 per cent. of the population over 12 years of age are unable even to read, and it enters so completely into all social relations that trade unions, co-operative societies, and all manner of voluntary associations are regularly duplicated or triplicated, forming Catholic, Liberal, and Socialist societies; and even the administration of poor relief is manipulated for party ends. Another feature of the social

organisation of much importance is the relative intensity of local life as compared with national life, and the independence of the commune. This is the natural result of the political history of Belgium, and may be said to persist in spite of economic conditions: for the small extent of the country, combined with the extraordinary facilities for intercommunication provided by the State administration of transit makes Belgium practically one city—a garden city. A man may work in Liège, and live at Ostend, in the most remote corner of the country, and a very large percentage of urban workers live in rural districts. The independence of the communes, combined with the militant zeal of the Catholic Church, maintains a system of poor relief similar to that in England before 1834, marked by great lavishness in the extent of out-door relief, but niggardliness in the amount granted to each recipient; and, as in England under the old poor law, the employers of underpaid labour are subsidised by relief in aid of wages.

Social progress, and the expression of the common will, has therefore to face peculiar obstacles in Belgium, and yet the record of the last twenty-five years is notable. The period from 1878 to 1884, during which the last Liberal Ministry held office, appears to have been one of both political and economic crisis. On the one hand the attempt of the Government to take elementary education out of the hands of the Church provoked the Catholics into the most desperate resistance; on the other the influx of agricultural produce from America exposed the peasants to severe competition. The years from 1886 to 1890 were full of new departures. In 1886 began the great movement for agricultural co-operation, largely through the efforts of the priesthood. The Boerenbond, which is one only out of six federations of co-operative societies was founded in 1900, and in 1908 comprised 506 societies with 41,700 members. In 1890 there was founded the first society for improving the breed of cattle; in 1907 there were 382 such societies with 17,000 members, 344 for improving goats with 33,000 members, 497 co-operative dairies, 1,622 mutual societies for insuring live stock, 1,024 co-operative purchase societies, and 523 Raiffeisen (agricultural) banks, the first of which had been established in 1892.

The urban Socialist co-operative movement is a little older. The pioneer, "Vooruit," the famous Ghent society, was founded in 1880, and now its nobly decorated premises, appropriately placed in the Place van Artevelde, betokens a renaissance of the spirit which fought the battle of the Golden Spurs and defied the Holy Roman Empire. To Ghent also Europe owes the first practical scheme of insurance against unemployment, devised in

1900, and since widely imitated. Belgium Trade Unionism, as an effective force, has about as long a history as Co-operation. The membership has grown from 65,000 in 1891 to 200,000 in 1908.

Labour legislation in Belgium also dates from an inquiry held in 1886, in consequence of which truck and the payment of wages in public houses were prohibited in 1887, the employment of children under 12 in factories prohibited in 1889, and that of women and young persons regulated. In 1903 a law for workmen's compensation was passed, and one decreeing a day's rest per week in 1905. Factory legislation is yet however, poorly developed in Belgium; but on the other hand the regulation of coal mines has been so effective as to reduce the number of accidents by 60 per cent., and to make them, in spite of their great depth and the gaseous character of the coal, safer for the miners than those of any other country.

Alcoholic excess is one of the great social evils of Belgium. The Belgian "drinks in the morning to awaken himself, before dinner to provoke an appetite, and after dinner to aid digestion; after working hours to restore his energy and before going to bed to make himself sleepy. He drinks on Saturday because it is pay day, on Sunday because it is rest day and on Monday because it is the morrow of yesterday. He drinks when he is sad, and when he is gay he drinks more." The temperance movement in Belgium dates from about 1886. For the last 20 years the State, while maintaining the system of practically free trade in liquor, has encouraged the teaching of temperance in the schools, and since 1903 it has raised the excise duties on spirits. It is stated that there has been an enormous change in public opinion on the subject of drunkenness in recent years.

Belgium has a greater mileage of ordinary railways in proportion to area than any other country, and since 1872 exceptionally cheap workmen's tickets have been issued. But in 1886 began the development of a great system of light railways, in the construction and working of which the State, a national society, the local authorities and private firms all co-operate. With the completion of the lines under construction Belgium will have 33 miles of light railway for every 100 square miles of area—a strange contrast with the 0.37 miles in Great Britain. Both agriculture and housing benefit very greatly. Improved housing is also greatly stimulated by the very successful Act of 1889, whereby the funds of the National Savings Bank can be lent for this purpose. Belgium is a country of low house rents and of working-men house owners.

The practical lessons which Mr. Rowntree draws from Belgian experience for British use are, roughly, that it is possible for us to resuscitate our agriculture in such a manner as to increase by two or three millions the number of workers who find employment in

the cultivation of the land; that if we desire this, we must effectively encourage small holdings, agricultural co-operation, the easy supply of capital at moderate interest, and secure adequate means of transit as has been done in Belgium; that, further, in order to prevent the economic advantages of such developments passing into the hands of the owners of land and their being lost to the mass of the people, it will be necessary, by taxation or otherwise, for the State to appropriate the future increments in land values, a precaution that Belgium has neglected. Belgian experience, again, goes to show that forests should be under public control, and that State afforestation of waste lands and lands of little value is of great assistance in diminishing distress from unemployment, because it creates a demand for labour which can be made to expand in times of depression and contract in times of prosperity. As for the lessons which Belgium might learn from British experience, they are varied and important, but I need not touch on them here.

GILBERT SLATER.

THE PROPOSED RACES CONGRESS.

THE arrangements are already far advanced for the holding, in London next July, of the first Universal Races Congress. Its object is thus stated: "To discuss, in the light of modern knowledge and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation." So far as may be possible special treatment will be accorded to the problem of the contact of European with other developed types of civilisation, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Turkish, and Persian. It is hoped that all schools of thought will take part in the proceedings, and in the list of those who have already promised contributions are the names of representatives of more than twenty civilisations. Political questions of the hour will be subordinated to the comprehensive end of the Congress, the promoters being convinced that when once mutual respect is established difficulties of every type will be at all events sympathetically approached, although practical solutions may not be readily attained.

It may be assumed that this Congress will provide at least as much material for the sociological student as any gathering held in London for some years past. Nothing is clearer to the instructed observer of the world movement than that the problems of race are destined in the near future to play a decisive part in international relations, and that, generally speaking, there is no department of public affairs in which politicians, administrators, and permanent officials are more urgently in need of scientific guidance. For this reason if for no other we may hope that all those who in whatever direction are giving attention to the structure, development, and inter-relation of races, nations, and social groups will do what in them lies to further the aims of the Races Congress.

The preparations have been for more than twelve months past in the hands of Mr. Gustav Spiller, whose great success in organising the International Moral Education Congress of 1908 has been generally and deservedly recognised. A large and influential General Committee and a representative Executive have been formed, and a remarkable body of support has been secured from more than fifty countries. Presidents of parliaments, members of the Peace Conference and of the Permanent Arbitration Court at The Hague, premiers, governors, bishops, and professors of international law, together with the leading sociologists and anthropologists of the world—these and many other prominent persons have signified their approval of the scheme and promised active assistance in one way or another. We have before us the provisional programme, which is of course subject to revision. The general subject is divided as follows between the proposed eight half-day sessions:—

1. Fundamental Considerations—Meaning of Race and Nation.
- 2-3. General Conditions of Progress.
- 3a. Peaceful Contact between Civilisations.
4. Special Problems in Inter-Racial Economics.
- 5-6. The Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions.
- 7-8. Positive Suggestions for Promoting Inter-Racial Friendli-

ness. [To assist adequate discussion the papers are to be sent to members of the Congress a month before the gathering, and will be taken as read; abstracts of the papers will also be provided.]

In the first section the opening paper, on the definition of race, tribe, and nation, will be contributed by a leading Bengali scholar, Professor Brajendranath Seal; the anthropological view of race will be stated by Dr. Felix von Luschan, of Berlin; the sociological view by Professor Alfred Fouillée; the problem of race equality by Mr. Spiller.

In the second section Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., will discuss "National Autonomy and Civic Responsibility," Dr. Margoliouth the influence of language in consolidation and separation, Professor Rhys Davids the corresponding influence of religion, Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) of Calcutta, the position of women, Dr. Franz Boas, of Columbia University, the instability of racial types, and Dr. Joseph Deniker, of Paris, the question of inter-racial marriage.

The publicists and administrators are entrusted with the third section, which will be devoted to practical questions of government. The problem of China will be stated by the Chinese Ambassador at Washington, of Turkey by His Excellency Said Bey, of India by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, of Persia by M. Hadji Mirza Yahya, of Egypt by Mohamed Sourour Bey, while Sir Sydney Olivier will discuss the government of colonies and dependencies.

To the section given up to methods of peaceful contact between civilisations the papers will be contributed by Dr. Ferdinand Tönnies (Kiel), Professor La Fontaine (Brussels), Dr. W. Schücking (Marburg), and others.

The papers on special problems of inter-racial economics will be by Dr. A. de Navratil (University of Kolozsvár), Mr. F. C. Croxton (Washington), Professor W. Jett Lauck, and Mr. J. A. Hobson.

The questions coming under the head of the modern conscience, perhaps the most comprehensive section, will be treated by a number of authorities, among them Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Dr. Caldecott, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Harry Johnston, and Prof. Du Bois.

And finally, papers containing positive suggestions for the improvement of inter-racial relations are to be contributed by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, M. Léon Bourgeois, Sir John Macdonell, Dr. Zamenhof, Professor J. S. Mackenzie, and others.

It is proposed also to hold in connection with the Congress an exhibition of books, documents, portraits, skulls, diagrams, etc. The committee has been fortunate in obtaining for this section the services of Dr. A. C. Haddon, who needs no introduction to readers of the *Sociological Review*. It should be added that Lord Weardale is the President of the Congress and Mr. Pember Reeves chairman of the Executive, with Sir Edward Brabrook as vice-chairman. The honorary general secretary and organiser is Mr. G. Spiller, 63 South Hill Park, London, N.W., to whom all inquiries and other communications should be addressed. We append the list of questions to which replies are sought for the elucidation of the many problems before the Congress.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

(Replies must reach the Hon. Sec. by June 15, 1911.)

1. (a) To what extent is it legitimate to argue from differences in physical characteristics to differences in mental characteristics? (b) Do you consider that the

physical and mental characteristics observable in a particular race are (1) permanent; (2) modifiable only through ages of environmental pressure; or (3) do you consider that marked changes in popular education, in public sentiment, and in environment generally, may, apart from intermarriage, materially transform physical and especially mental characteristics in a generation or two?

2. (a) To what extent does the status of a race at any particular moment of time offer an index to its innate or inherited capacities? (b) Of what importance is it in this respect that civilisations are meteoric in nature, bursting out of obscurity only to plunge back into it, and how would you explain this?

3. (a) How would you combat the irreconcilable contentions prevalent among all the more important races of mankind that *their* customs, *their* civilisation, and *their* race are superior to those of other races? (b) Would you, in explanation of existing differences, refer to special needs arising from peculiar geographical and economic conditions and to related divergences in national history, and, in explanation of the attitude assumed, would you refer to intimacy with one's own customs leading psychologically to a love of them and unfamiliarity with others' customs tending to lead psychologically to dislike and contempt of these latter? (c) Or what other explanation and arguments would you offer?

4. (a) What part do differences in economic, hygienic, moral, and educational standards play in estranging races which come in contact with each other? (b) Is the ordinary observer to be informed that these differences, like social differences generally, are in substance almost certainly due to passing social conditions and not to innate racial characteristics, and that the aim should be, as in social differences, to remove these rather than to accentuate them by regarding them as fixed?

5. (a) Is perhaps the deepest cause of race misunderstandings the tacit assumption that the present characteristics of a race are the expression of fixed and permanent racial characteristics? (b) If so, could not anthropologists, sociologists, and scientific thinkers as a class, powerfully assist the movement for a juster appreciation of races by persistently pointing out in their lectures and in their works the fundamental fallacy involved in taking a static instead of a dynamic, a momentary instead of a historic, a local instead of a general, point of view of race characteristics? (c) And could such dynamic teaching be conveniently introduced into schools, more especially in the geography and history lessons; also into colleges for the training of teachers, diplomats, colonial administrators, and missionaries?

6. (a) If you consider that the belief in racial superiority is not largely due, as is suggested in some of the above questions, to unenlightened psychological repulsion and under-estimation of the dynamic or environmental factors, please state what, in your opinion, the chief factors are. (b) Do you consider that there is fair proof, and if so what proof, of some races being substantially superior to others in inborn capacity, and in such case is the moral standard to be modified?

7. (a) Do you think that each race might with advantage study the customs and civilisations of other races, even those you think the lowliest ones, for the definite purpose of improving its own customs and civilisations? (b) Do you think that unostentatious conduct generally and respect for the customs of other races, provided these are not morally objectionable, should be recommended to all who come in passing or permanent contact with members of other races?

8. (a) Do you know of any experiments on a considerable scale, past or present, showing the successful uplifting of relatively backward races by the application of purely humane methods? (b) Do you know of any cases of colonisation or opening of a country achieved by the same methods? (c) If so, how far do you think could such methods be applied universally in our dealings with other races?

9. What proposals do you have (a) for the Congress effectively carrying out its object of encouraging better relations between East and West, and more particularly (b) for the formation of an association designed to promote inter-racial amity?

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

The International Town-Planning Conference and Exhibition, held under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects last October, were widely noticed in the Press and did good service in stimulating interest in the problems of Civics. Professor

**Professor
Geddes on
the Cities
Exhibition.**

Patrick Geddes took the Conference and Exhibition as the text of a lecture delivered before the Sociological Society on October 18. He described the joint event as a matter of considerable sociological import, since it

marked a gradual passing from the traditional standpoints. While the politician thought in terms of the State and the individual, and the abstract sociologist in terms of Society and its members, the study of Civics carried us into a third order of ideas. From State and Society in general we passed to cities in particular, and from the abstract individual and his environment to citizens and their cities. The change was fundamental in its scientific value and significance. A new movement of social science had been opened by the direct pressure of social need. We had to reckon with our corporate life and individual capacities; and in place of occasional elections or discussions in which these essential things were too largely forgotten we came into the definite world of observation and action. Observation became scientific survey, while action took the form of plans which were more definite than words, a rapid notation of thought superior to the appeals of Legislature, Press, or Society. Such was the justification of Town-planning—a new agency, not of education alone, but of social uplift and advance towards the worthiest ends, whether of sociological theory or political practice.

Turning to the display of city plans in the galleries of the Royal Academy, Professor Geddes said that though not by any means fully representative, it contained a suggestion of what a cities exhibition might be. He recalled the Paris Exhibition of 1900

**Shortcomings
of the
Modern City.**

with its extraordinary wealth of panoramas, the effectiveness of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. Little but praise was due to the illustrations of garden cities and villages, where the battle of the styles was being fought out with greater success than at any time during the last century. But the designs for the reconstruction of cities on a greater scale were disappointing. The great town-planner of the nineteenth century was Haussmann, who, working for Napoleon III., was continuing the imperial tradition of Louis XIV and Napoleon I. There was an increase of magnificence, but those great boulevards were obtained at a heavy cost—at the expense alike of historic beauty and charm and of the well-being of the city's inhabitants. All who had watched the transformation of Paris would remember in how many places the great gardens which filled the interior of the courts had been swept away to be replaced

by narrow germ wells. The bacteriologist was now coming into power; what was he going to say to these plans of more glare and dust and of smaller and smaller courts so as to have more germs to breathe in dust! Haussmann and his confrères in Germany, France, and America were anti-hygienists; their plans were the organisation of death. They completely blinked the proposition that the deterioration of town life was due to the inhalation of dust in the front of the houses and of germs in the rear. The difference between the new American blocks and a slum of old Edinburgh was that while the former showed window and door opening one after the other into other rooms, passages, and houses, the latter opened at one end on to the High Street and at the other towards the North Pole. The modern metropolis, whether designed on the gridiron or on the Union Jack, was the type of Caesarism; the true city, though it would have its characteristic plan, was still the dwelling of a burgher people expressing in its form and style the spiritual ideals of the lives lived therein. Professor Geddes concluded his lecture with an exposition of the survey of Edinburgh, which, occupying a room to itself, proved to be the most successful exhibit at the Royal Academy.

Particular reference was made in the lecture to the exhibit by M. Augustin Rey, of Paris, showing, by a series of diagrams, the results of his astronomical studies in relation to the laying out of towns, studies which

Orientation and Health.

had led to the formulation of a theory of street orientation which Professor Geddes described as a notable contribution to the science of city design. Taking ten of the greatest cities of the world, representing a population of more than 25 millions, and working on the assumption that the penetration of the sun's rays is the primal condition for the healthiness of buildings, M. Rey submitted the following conclusions as applicable to towns in the temperate regions: (1) Streets running north and south are eminently healthy; (2) streets at an angle of 30 deg. to a line drawn north and south are healthy; (3) streets inclined at an angle of 45 deg. to the north and south line are moderately healthy; (4) streets running east and west are notoriously unhealthy. Not one of the great cities he has studied, says M. Rey, has ever concerned itself with this all-important question; and he affirms that "automatic procedure with regard to health, completed by the orientation of the buildings themselves, is alone capable of regenerating the life of the urban centres."

The striking exhibit of the Edinburgh Survey, which filled the Black-and-White Room, was prepared by Professor Geddes in co-operation with Mr. F. C. Mears, of the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. It was beyond

A City Surveys Exhibition.

question the most complete and illuminating section of the Town-planning Exhibition, being also the first adequate illustration so far seen in London of the method of city survey with the advocacy of which the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society has been identified. At the close of the Exhibition at Burlington House the Edinburgh exhibit was removed to Crosby Hall, there to be rearranged as the nucleus of an exhibition in which the method should be applied to other typical towns and rural districts. A Cities Exhibition Committee

was formed, and this body, working in conjunction with the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society, has made rapid progress with the preliminaries during the past month. It is hoped that the exhibition will be opened, by Mr. John Burns, this month, and that it may be possible to arrange with a number of city corporations for the bulk of the plans and views to be sent on tour in England and Scotland. Mr. Raymond Unwin is chairman of the Committee, and Mr. E. B. Maufe, More's Garden, Cheyne Walk, S.W., is acting as Secretary.

In many countries, notably in Germany, Belgium, New Zealand and Australia, in France, Holland and Mexico, the Government owns all or some of the railways, or has a controlling interest. In these islands proposals for railway nationalisation have not hitherto been considered as coming within the sphere of practical politics. The case of Ireland is, no doubt, very different from that of England or Scotland; but the

**The Irish
Railway
Commission.**

Report of the Majority of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways [ed. 5247] cannot fail to have a great effect even in this country. The four signatories of the Majority Report included all the Irish members of the Commission, Lord Pirrie, of the great firm of Harland and Wolff, Col. Hutcheson Poë, a large landowner, and Mr. Sexton; and it was also signed by the Chairman of the Commission, the late Sir Charles Scotter, Chairman of the London and South Western Railway Company. Mr. Sexton, it will be observed, is the only representative of the Irish Nationalists. Sir Charles Scotter, Lord Pirrie and Col. Poë cannot be accused of revolutionary tendencies or hostility to property and private enterprise. Yet they propose that all the railways in Ireland should be transferred to a public body of twenty members of whom twelve shall represent the rate-payers, two each the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury, and one each the Irish Port and Harbour Authorities, the Irish Chambers of Commerce, the Irish Industrial Development Associations, and the Associations of the Irish Cattle Trade. The proposals of the Minority Report, signed by Sir Herbert Jekyll, of the Board of Trade, Mr. Acworth and Mr. Aspinall, General Manager of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, include the amalgamation of all the Irish Railways, compulsorily if necessary, and the creation of new powers of control, to be exercised by the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

No doubt, the peculiar circumstances of Ireland influenced the recommendations of the Majority. In view of the popular suspicion of "Castle" Boards in Ireland, to place the railways under the direct administration of a Government Department was out of the question. Hence the proposal to create a new authority, a majority of the members of which should be chosen by electoral colleges—one for each of the four Provinces—to which each County Council should send two representatives and each municipality one. Moreover, the majority, accepting the view of the Childers Commission on the over-taxation of Ireland, propose that a grant of at least a quarter of a million should be made from the Imperial Treasury to assist in the transfer. The greater part of Ireland, in strong contrast to England, is purely agricultural; nevertheless, when all allowances are made, it is peculiarly significant that such a report should be signed by the Chairman of a great English railway company.

The larger Irish companies come out of the examination rather better than might have been expected. There are few, if any, great scandals; and many deficiencies seem due only to the poverty of the country or the paucity of traffic. In fact, the Majority do not rest their case on flagrant mismanagement by the existing boards. They say (p. 77):—

But under a public system any increase of net revenue effected by a decrease of working expenses would go to the public benefit in reduction of freights, whilst under a unified commercial system, or a partial amalgamation of Companies, any increase of net revenue would be primarily applicable to augmentation of dividends. Again, the large surplus, available for reduction in freights on Irish goods, which may be expected because of the smaller charge for interest on capital resulting from the use of State credit for purchase of the lines, would by commercial amalgamation be wholly lost to the country; and in such case no reductions of freights could be looked for save those which might be purchased directly by public funds. We have already (in par. 70) stated our objections to a policy of subsidies. Such a policy would be difficult to justify, because (1) the companies, or company, would feel no interest in developing subsidised traffic; (2) the hope of further subsidies would put a stop to voluntary reductions of rates; and (3) it seems unlikely that any possible supervision, short of absolute control, could either assure the public of due value for subsidies, or determine their true results upon the volume of traffic. It is obvious also that any commercial amalgamation, which improved net profits by diminishing working expenses, would correspondingly inflate the price paid in the event of a subsequent public purchase of the lines.

And they go even further when they quote with apparent approval the evidence of Mr. Anderson, "an eminent Australian engineer"—a member of a private firm (p. 48):—

The real success of State railways was that they were effective in increasing the industry, commerce, and wealth of the community which they served, and that the question of profit was subsidiary. In his opinion it would be to the interest of Ireland that a railway system somewhat similar to the Australian should be substituted for the present private companies' administration and management.

We have travelled very far from the teaching of the classical economists when such an opinion can be quoted with approval or even without condemnation by a public Commission.

THE Fourth Annual Report of the Anti-Sweating League (34 Mecklenburgh Square), apart from its ethical aspect, has an interest for sociological students in the indications it gives that women workers are acquiring an

**Trade Boards
and the
Organisation
of Women
Workers.**

increased capacity to organise and combine together, for mutual protection and self-defence. How often we have been told of the inability of women to form stable combinations; how often we have felt, in considering the action and re-action of the family on industry, and the position of woman in the family, that it was almost hopeless to expect that women-workers would ever acquire that wonderful sense of solidarity and comradeship which enables rough ignorant men to stand together, to dare suffering and privation for themselves and their families rather than take the easier course of surrendering to the terms offered them. Yet women are now beginning, with the help of the newly-

instituted Trade Boards, to combine for mutual protection in a very remarkable way. The Chain-making Board, which began its work as soon as the Act came into operation (viz., at the beginning of 1910), after some discussion agreed on a scale of piece-rates, based on a time-rate of 3½d. an hour, yielding for a 54 hours week a wage of 15/-. Out of this sum the worker has, however, to provide forge and fuel, the net wage remaining after these expenses are paid being 11/3. This is not an altogether satisfactory result, as a "living wage" for a working woman, even on a moderate estimate, ought to be at least 14 or 15 shillings; but comparatively to the previous earnings of these poor women it was so large an increase that, in their own words, it seemed "too good to be true." Most of them had been accustomed to receive only from 5 to 6 shillings for a hard week's work.

The Trade Boards Act, however, provides that 3 months' notice of the prices fixed by the Board shall be given, and during this respite complaints or objections may be made either by employers or employed. In anticipation of the increased rate of wages many of the masters had large quantities of chain made at the old rates in order to have a stock under hand. It was seen by the workers and their friends that, as a result, when the new rates came into operation the workers would be unemployed, and the benefits of the new system would be neutralised. The Women's Trade Union League, under the able generalship of Miss Mary MacArthur and the Anti-Sweating League, advised the women to refuse to sign agreements to work at the old rates. The workers were consequently locked out, but the matter became public, subscriptions were given, and the workers gained the day. It is obvious, of course, that the issue of this dispute was in part due to the assistance, financial and other, rendered by the two organisations just mentioned; still, this assistance could not possibly have won the cause unless a very real and plucky stand had been made by the women themselves. We hear also from private information that in the trades affected by the new Wages Boards women are joining their unions and subscribing to the funds in an altogether unprecedented manner. It has been frequently predicted by critics who were adverse to wage-regulation by law, that it would be impossible to enforce minimum rates for unorganised workers. In actual fact it appears that the League standard wage has given precisely that impulse to organisation that the women workers have so long stood in need of.

The development of treaties on other than questions of territorial or commercial rights is one of the most interesting factors of modern international relations, and perhaps it is not unduly optimistic to see in it a gradual approach to closer and more rational bonds between nations. The Labour Convention of Berne relating to the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches has been a signal success. By means of this the few states which had already prohibited the use of white phosphorus and the sale of white phosphorus matches within their territories, have induced others, where the prohibition was most urgently needed, to follow their lead. All the countries concerned have, in addition, by closing their markets to matches containing the poisonous phosphorus done something towards inducing a change of manufacturing

processes for purposes of export even in those states still remaining outside the convention. The United States of America, in spite of constitutional difficulties, is now proposing to join the convention by a roundabout way, namely by the imposition of a prohibitive tax, since direct prohibition of the use of the poisonous ingredient is believed not to be within the powers of the Federal Government. A Bill having this object is now before Congress with good chances of success. The British Colonies also are doing their share. Australia closed her doors to white phosphorus matches in 1908, and New Zealand has recently placed upon her Statute Book a measure resembling the British White Phosphorus Prohibition Act. It is held in well-informed quarters that if the Indian market were likewise closed, the phosphorus question would be finally solved as far as Europe is concerned.

It seems now likely that fresh proposals for the international regulation of labour conditions will be in contemplation before long. At the Sixth Biennial Delegates' Meeting of the International Association for Labour Legislation, held at Lugano last September, further treaties on similar lines were foreshadowed in resolutions instructing the Central Bureau to invite the Swiss Government to take the initiative again in convening an international conference of the Powers in order to discuss the possibility of agreeing mutually to prohibit the night-work of young workers and to regulate the working hours of both women and young persons. Another matter held in many Sections of the Association to be eminently adapted, and indeed ripe, for international treatment is that of the hours of adult workmen employed in continuous processes. The meeting condemned the prevailing system of two twelve-hour shifts, necessitating a twenty-four hours spell in changing shifts, and ordered the appointment of a special commission to consider the matter and report on the possibility of prohibiting or regulating the night-work of adults in certain cases and the necessity for the international regulation of the question.

Another line of development was suggested in a resolution drawing attention to the need of extending the principle of international agreements on matters of accident insurance to other branches of social insurance, *e.g.*, sickness, invalidity, etc. Meantime, something is being done by private initiative towards extending this principle in another direction also. The numerous treaties on this matter have hitherto always been concluded between neighbouring states. At the instigation of the Hungarian Section of the Association, the American Section is, however, taking up the question of the position of unnaturalised immigrants under any compensation or insurance laws which may be adopted in any of the States of the Union. The Section is prepared to exert its influence in the interests of such immigrants when any of the legislative bodies concerned are contemplating legislation of this nature. Other subjects considered at Lugano have not advanced beyond the stage of independent national imitation. One of these is the question of regulating wages in sweated industries. The British legislation in this direction has aroused the keenest interest among other sections of the Association and there is a good probability of the British example being imitated in other States before long, without the aid of an international convention. On the whole the meeting seems to have shown that the tendency towards an international standard in industrial legislation is in a very healthy

condition. International progress is bound to be slow, but the progress and activity of the national sections of the International Association is a very hopeful sign, and bound to result in a corresponding, if slower, development of the international movement itself.

By the publication of *Clayhanger* Mr. Arnold Bennett has established his position among the very small group of English novelists whose vision and method may rightly be described as sociological. He starts his hero at the moment of liberation from school, confronted with his first problem of place and work in the shape of a canal boat bringing china clay from Cornwall via Runcorn to the Potteries:—

"Seems devilish funny to me," Edwin murmured after reflection, "that they should bring clay all that roundabout way just to make crocks of it here. Why should they choose just *this* place to make crocks in?"

A question such as the reader of the *Sociological Review* might conceivably answer in the light of the principles discussed by Mr. Montagu in the paper with which this number opens. The youth whose career is recorded in *Clayhanger* has received at the Oldeastle Middle School "a thoroughly sound education" which is thus negatively described by Mr. Bennett:—

He knew, however, nothing of natural history, and in particular of himself, of the mechanism of the body and mind, through which his soul had to express and fulfil itself. Not one word of either physiology or psychology had ever been breathed to him, nor had it ever occurred to any one around him that such information was needful. And as no one had tried to explain to him the mysteries which he carried about with him inside that fair skin of his, so no one had tried to explain to him the mysteries by which he was hemmed in, either mystically through religion, or rationally through philosophy. Never in chapel or at Sunday school had a difficulty been genuinely faced. And as for philosophy, he had not the slightest conception of what it meant. . . . He had great potential intellectual curiosity, but nobody had thought to stimulate it by even casually telling him that the finest minds of humanity had been trying to systematize the mysteries for quite twenty-five centuries. Of physical science he had been taught nothing, save a grotesque perversion to the effect that gravity was a force which drew things towards the centre of the earth. . . . Of geology he was perfectly ignorant, though he lived in a district whose whole livelihood depended on the scientific use of geological knowledge, and though the existence of Oldcastle itself was due to a freak of the earth's crust which geologists call a 'fault.'

Geography had been one of the boy's strong points. He was aware of the rivers of Asia and the products of Uruguay, but he had never been instructed for five minutes in the geography of his native county. He could have drawn a map of the Grinoco, but in a day's march he could not have found the Trent. "For him history hung unsupported and unsupported in the air." He had several times approached the nineteenth century, but was always being dragged back to the Middle Ages or "recoiling round Henry the Eighth, who, 'was a skilful warrior and a politician,' but 'unfortunate in his domestic relations.'" Moreover:—

For his personal enjoyment of the earth and air and sun and stars, and of society and solitude, no preparation had been made or dreamt of. The sentiment of nature had never been encouraged in him, or even mentioned. He knew not how to look at a landscape, nor at a sky. Of plants and trees he was as exquisitely ignorant as of astronomy. It had not occurred to him to wonder why the days are longer in summer, and he vaguely supposed that the cold of winter was due to an increased distance of the earth from the sun. Still, he had learnt that Saturn had a ring.

He knew the meaning of a few obsolete words in a few plays of Shakespeare, but of literature or the arts he had been taught nothing. He could not express himself orally in any language, "but through hard drilling he was so genuinely erudite in accident and syntax that he could parse and analyse with superb assurance the most magnificent sentences of Milton, Virgil, and Racine." And now his education was finished. "It had cost his father twenty-eight shillings a term, or four guineas a year, and no trouble." On the whole, one would say, as thorough-going a criticism of the existing school system as could be found in current literature. But it is not, of course, only or chiefly in writing such as this that Mr. Bennett reveals the sociological habit of mind. He has a remarkable sense of the organic movement of society, and he is perhaps the only English novelist who has attempted the imaginative exploitation, in the manner so well understood in France, of the regional life and consciousness.

At the request of Miss Mabel Atkinson, Lecturer in Domestic Management at King's College for Women, London, and a member of the Sociological Society's Council, we are circulating with this number of the

Review a form containing a set of questions referring to family budgets. A certain amount of material exists in relation to the expenditure of English households at both ends of the social scale, but, as most students are aware, there is great difficulty in forming even the roughest estimate as to the scale of expenditure prevailing in the middle classes. It is hoped therefore that members of the Sociological Society will assist the investigators, who are working entirely in their private capacity, by either filling up the forms themselves or passing them on to their friends. It will be noticed that no request is made for the names and addresses of those giving information.

REVIEWS.

MELANESIANS AND POLYNESIANS.

"MELANESIANS AND POLYNESIANS: THEIR LIFE-HISTORIES DESCRIBED AND COMPARED." By George Brown, D.D. Macmillan and Co., 1910. 12/- net.

"Who keeps one end in view makes all things serve." Nowhere is this more clearly exhibited than in New Britain where all the affairs of life, great or small, are subordinated to the one dominant purpose of amassing *diwara* (shell money) *i.e.*, getting rich. From birth to death this ruling passion is always active; a baby girl is saved from being buried alive with her dead mother in the expectation of payment on her marriage. The most conspicuous features of a marriage consist in complicated interchanges of *diwara*; the bridegroom borrows from friends and relatives, the friends and relatives make presents to the bridegroom, and the concluding ceremony is the paying back of the original loan with 20 per cent interest. Death gives still more opportunities for the display and distribution of wealth; in the Shortlands even the privilege of weeping for the dead chief seems to be paid for. And the advantages of wealth do not cease at death, for the souls of rich people have a special abode into which the poor and those at whose burial no shell money is distributed, cannot enter. It is interesting to note how this dominant idea influences native beliefs. Disease and death are, of course, not attributed to natural causes, but to magic. "Whenever any one was sick, his friends made anxious enquiries as to the person who had bewitched him. Someone would generally be found to admit that he had buried some portion of food, or something belonging to the sick man, which had caused his illness. The friends would pay him to dig it up, and after that the patient would generally get well" (p. 176). It is strange that this proceeding arouses no ill-feeling. No revenge is taken and there seems to be no quarrel between the sick man and those who were, on their own acknowledgement, attempting his life. It appears to be an accepted method of obtaining money, and is taken as a matter of course. At the next opportunity the injured man will seize his chance of returning evil for evil, and so repay the expense of his illness. Money and property are as necessary for the dead as for the living. "They believe that those who are rich here will continue to be so there" (p. 195). But, fortunately for the heirs, all that the departed spirit needs is the spirit of the property he had acquired during his lifetime. All the wealth is therefore heaped round the corpse, but is taken away again when the body is buried. Beliefs as to the details of a future are usually vague but on one point there is no doubt. Niggardly people are singled out for punishment, being dashed against the large buttress roots of the chestnut tree. This, as far as the author could discover, was the only crime for which any form of retribution was definitely assured.

All power, outside the secret societies, is centred in the sorcerers or incipient priests and chiefs. "It was principally the wealth of a man and the number of spells and charms which he possessed that constituted him

a chief, so that the same person was often both priest and chief" (p. 200). "Once raised to either of these dignities the opportunities for extortion are practically unlimited. The priest or sorcerer is appealed to in all cases of sickness and is paid to remove it; the priest is appealed to in all disputes, for recovery of debt and all other difficulties, and as punishment is usually by fine, he is well paid for his intervention. In collecting bad debts, the chief has a recognised share of 20 per cent.

The secret societies, whatever their origin, are mainly, according to Dr. Brown, institutions for blackmail. "The principle object of the Dukduk appeared to be to extort money from every one else who was not a member and to terrify women and those who were not initiated" (p. 60). The Melanese are essentially a trading people, with the commercial instinct abnormally developed. The Samoans present a direct contrast. In spite of their higher culture they cannot understand economic laws. While Melanese are quick to appreciate any change in market conditions, the Samoans, after the drop in prices at the end of the American war, allowed their cotton to rot on the trees rather than accept a lower price. This illustrates the contrast between the two races. Money is the goal of the New Britons, and having money, as a native explained to the author, makes them wish for more. The ideal of the Samoan is dignity. In Samoa there are no secret societies; priesthood and chieftainship are not purchasable but hereditary; the persons are considered sacred, and priests are the interpreters of the gods. Birth, marriage and death are occasions for the giving and receiving of presents, but the haggling of the Melanese is replaced by lavish prodigality. In Melanesia property is placed by the dead chief and taken away again; in Polynesia valuables are buried with the body. In magical beliefs the contrast is also seen. The Melanese are firm believers in contagious magic. If anything which a man has touched with his mouth, such as a yam-peeling or banana skin, is obtained by an enemy, the latter holds him in the hollow of his hand. "He takes it to some . . . professor or priest of magic who buries the article in a deep hole, together with leaves of poisonous plants and sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo, accompanied, of course, by suitable curses and incantations" (p. 233). This is to ensure the death of the individual by sickness or by wounds received in fighting—unless a sufficient bribe of *diwara* is offered and the curse removed. It is interesting to note that sea water neutralises magic, so refuse of all kinds is thrown into the sea and becomes useless for magical purposes.

In Samoa yam peelings or banana skins are beneath the dignity of the priest or sorcerer and contagious magic does not seem to be exercised (p. 246). Sickness is due to the anger of a god, and the god has to be placated by the intervention of the priest.

Folklore stories are rare in Melanesia, and the author attributes the lack to the isolation of the districts, and the absence of opportunities for reciting songs, chants or traditions belonging to the past. In Samoa they are abundant, but as the author is reserving the bulk of his material for another volume, only a few are given here. In New Britain the Creator, as in many other Melanesian groups, was a woman. The first man, To Kabanana, made all good and useful things; To Purungo spoilt all the works of To Kabanana, and was the author of all evil. On Duke of York Island there is a vague belief in a supreme being, maker of man though not of the world. But the belief is a cheerless one. He certainly interests

himself in the affairs of men, not leaving them to the control of *tebarans* or spirits, but the people say he "hears our laughter and knows our joys, but laughs at us and says 'Do not laugh; do not rejoice; you will die soon.'"

These are samples of the information contained in the beautifully illustrated book that the veteran missionary, Dr. George Brown, has recently published. Sociologists will find therein a great deal of interesting matter, but, as the author was a pioneer missionary in Melanesia, they must not expect to find a complete or even systematic account of the sociology of the natives.

A. C. HADDON.

THE MARGINAL THEORY IN ECONOMICS

"The Common Sense of Political Economy." By Philip H. Wicksteed. Macmillan. 14/- net. 8vo. pp. 702.

It is not possible, for reasons I will explain in a moment, to give a summary of the contents of Mr. Wicksteed's book, or a criticism of his conclusions. I must be content to indicate the general character of his argument, and to appraise its worth in a very tentative way. His "common sense of Political Economy" consists in connecting *all* economic problems directly with the fundamental psychological law of human choice. All our desires for any kind of objects are capable of comparison and measurement,—not in bulk, but at the margin of satisfaction. My desire for fame and my desire for food are not comparable as such. They may rightly be regarded as belonging to different planes, irreducible to any common terms. I may starve myself to death in order to win fame; or I may throw away all my reputation in order to get food. But normally both desires meet marginally; and at the margin an increment of satisfaction of each desire has a common measure,—a certain quantity of effort or sacrifice. When I have got a moderate amount of fame, I shall probably prefer to get my meals regularly rather than earn more fame at a cost of hunger; and when I have got a certain amount of bread and meat, I shall probably prefer to do a little more work to win more fame rather than to get more food. In this way, small quantities of *additional* satisfaction of very different kinds become comparable and measurable in terms of the same thing (effort or sacrifice) when some margin of satisfaction is reached in each case. And for every individual it would be possible to construct a scale of preferences, or a scale of the *significance*—not of objects of desire as wholes, but of small increments of all satisfactions of which he already possesses a certain quantity. This scale of marginal significances would include every conceivable object of desire which the individual does actually strive after and obtain in greater or less amount; and every marginal significance would be measured in quantities of effort or sacrifice. Of these objects of desire, a certain number belong to what may be called the circle of *exchangeable* things; and when this is so, a much more manageable common measure is available. The marginal significance of increment-units of each can then be expressed in terms of any other,—an extra loaf in terms of an extra pound of meat,—or, best of all, in terms of one single accepted object, money.

All economic exchange is due to the fact that individual scales differ; so long as an extra loaf stands above an extra pound of meat on my scale,

but below it on yours, so long will exchange go on,—assuming of course that we have any quantities of these or other goods which we can possibly spare. And when many people are concerned in exchange, there will always appear a kind of *objective* scale, expressive of the average marginal significance on the part of the exchangers; and this objective scale is expressed in the market prices for the time being.

So much for the psychological law of exchange,—which Mr. Wicksteed explains, with extraordinary wealth of illustration, in his first hundred pages or so. It gives the clue to the movements of price in every market: the facts and conditions of exchange are results of the differing marginal significances of increments of diverse satisfactions as expressed on the relative scales of all individual purchasers and sellers. But the law does not merely explain Exchange and the Market,—as ordinarily dealt with by Economists. It explains also the whole of Production and Distribution, which must therefore be treated, not as separate departments, but as special aspects of the single process, exchange. Rent, interest, and wages,—the supply of, and demand for, the factors of production, and the prices they fetch,—all appear as phenomena explicable only by reference to the single law of relative significances: and every factor of production is revealed as tending always (under free exchange) to get what it is marginally worth as a means to the production of satisfaction, the furtherance of human purposes, and the attainment of our ends. Much of the talk about “cost of production” as determining price is found to be inaccurate or false. It does *not* determine price, except in the special sense that the estimated cost of future production does determine the lower limit of price.

In the above paragraphs I have tried only to indicate Mr. Wicksteed's point of view and method of treatment. I said at the outset it was impossible either to summarise or criticise. Criticism would involve one in very difficult analyses of numerous statements: difficult,—because Mr. Wicksteed is far too shrewd and honest a thinker not to face and deal with all obvious criticisms. And a summary is out of the question when one is faced with a treatise of nearly three hundred thousand words, over which the writer has spent many years of careful work, and every page of which reveals a whole-hearted enthusiasm for the subject, for the truth about the subject, and (perhaps most of all) for the special aspect of the truth which the writer has made his own. Herein indeed lies the cause of certain grave defects of the book,—the defects of those very qualities which give it its value. I believe it would have been a far more valuable book if the author had finished it ten years ago. He has been in love with his theme; he has lectured as well as pondered upon it for half a life-time; and he has tried to put *all* his thought into print. The result is almost stupefying. He calls it the “common sense” of political economy, and a “popular” exposition of the marginal theory. The terms are most grievously abused. I cannot believe that any ordinary student could read the book through without serious suffering as well as bewilderment: and I emphatically refuse to believe that the strength of the exposition would have been lessened if the book had been half as long and four times as simple as it is. That the style is good, and often brilliant, no one who knows Mr. Wicksteed will need to be told. But even the style is often robbed of its effect by the wearisome iteration of the same argument in a hundred different forms, and by the piling up of illustrations long after their “marginal significance” has sunk to zero.

Is the treatment original? Yes, certainly, in its singleness of view and whole-heartedness of faith. But this does not mean that it is likely to revolutionise economic exposition. Others have tried to persuade us all to adopt the "single point of view"; Jevons and Macleod did so, in their different ways; so did the more recent writer of "Political Economy in a Nutshell." And the "marginal theory" is perhaps already as fashionable as it deserves to be. Speaking as a teacher of Economics rather than as an Economist, I would say of Mr. Wicksteed's book that it is one from which I should like to select very many sections for a student to use as the best explanations of certain difficulties, the best exposures of certain fallacies, the best presentments of certain principles which can be found in any English book known to me. But, to give the student a real grasp of the subject of Political Economy, I would not dare to use the book as a whole, but would still prefer such a book as Mr. J. A. Hobson's "Industrial System," which in so many ways is the exact antithesis of Mr. Wicksteed's "Common Sense of Political Economy."

And yet, this mode of comparison is not quite fair from the standpoint of social science. If Mr. Hobson is more concrete and real, Mr. Wicksteed is, after all, more scientific. The former takes economic activities as they are, and presents them as a system in which some important causal connections may be discovered, and of which some important laws—both physical and psychological—hold good. Mr. Wicksteed takes his stand on the purely psychological laws of choice between alternatives, and then shows that Economic Science is wholly scientific just so far as all economic activities fall under these laws. This is perhaps the true limit of a strictly scientific economics. Mr. Wicksteed is only wrong in holding out the hope that the study of Distribution and Production can thus be made as scientific as the study of the Market. This is not possible; for, in proportion as the Economist deals with the *social* complex called the Industrial System (and surely he must deal with this), he is forced to include other considerations which are sometimes of greater importance than those psychological ones which he has reduced to scientific statement. And he then ceases to be really scientific in the sense in which Mr. Wicksteed would apply the term.

E. J. URWICK.

SOCIAL LIFE IN ROME.

"SOCIAL LIFE AT ROME IN THE AGE OF CICERO." By W. Warde Fowler, Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co.

"ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE." Ludwig Friedländer (translated by J. H. Freese and Leonard A. Magnus). London, Routledge & Sons.

Mr. Warde Fowler's interesting volume is not an exhaustive treatment of the subject which he has taken in hand, but is in the nature of an attempt to meet an educational want. In reading the great writers of the last age of the Republic at our schools and universities we incidentally learn a good deal of the political and constitutional history of the period. But in our language there is no book which supplies us with a picture of the life and manners, the education, morals and religious life of the people. We know much more of the Augustan age; and Professor Dill's

excellent volumes have familiarised us with other periods of Roman history. The age of Cicero, as Mr. Warde Fowler truly remarks, is as important as any period of the Empire; it is a critical moment in the history of Græco-Roman civilisation. And in the correspondence of Cicero with his friends, consisting of more than nine hundred contemporary letters, we have opened out to us the richest treasure-house of social life and social customs that has survived from any period of classical antiquity. Mr. Warde Fowler admits his obligations to Mommsen and to Marquardt's great Handbook of Roman Antiquities, which must always remain a mine of information to the scholar. He also tells us that his interest was first stirred in the subject by the fascinating works of the late Gaston Boissier, who possessed the rare faculty of making antiquity live in pages which are at once attractive and scholarly. Mr. Fowler himself has caught a good deal of the spirit of Boissier and his volume is a most readable account of the age of which it treats. It would be very difficult to mention a work in which the sociologist will get a better insight within a brief compass of the structure of Roman society immediately preceding the advent of the empire. After an interesting topographical chapter on Rome as a city, Mr. Fowler passes the various classes of population in review, beginning with the lower ranks of life and including the vast slave class which formed such an important and sinister element in ancient life. He then proceeds to describe the men of business and their methods, the governing aristocracy, the education of the upper classes, the houses of the rich, the daily life of the well-to-do, marriage customs, holidays, and public amusements, and finally religious life and religious observances. On closing the book we feel that we have been brought into intimate and living contact with a form of civilisation different in many respects from any phase of modern life and yet presenting many points of contact with the civilisation of to-day. It was not a decadent society, but it was a society on the frontiers of decadence. The abnormal use of slave labour was beginning to produce bad results, wealth was being acquired too suddenly, family life was assuming unhealthy forms, the old state of religion was in process of dissolution. Yet nothing irreparable had happened. It was a society containing so many virile elements that it was still master of its future.

Friedländer's "Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire" is a much more elaborate work than Mr. Warde Fowler's and has passed through many editions in its native tongue. It is satisfactory to find that the seventh enlarged and revised edition of the well-known *Sitten-geschichte Roms* has at last been translated from the original German and is now accessible to us in an English dress. The text of the present edition is essentially the same as that of its immediate predecessor although several passages have been supplemented, shortened, corrected, or amplified. In addition to these minor alterations the sections on the Roman belief in immortality and of the spread of Christianity have been in part revised. But in all its fundamental features the present volume is the same book as has been before the public for several years. The most conspicuous feature of Roman life in the early empire was the imperial court itself. As the imperial system developed the character of the court and the immediate surroundings of the emperor underwent a corresponding change. Next in order of rank came the nobility, the

senators; below them were the knights, and last of all came the third estate comprising the great bulk of the population. The privileges accorded to the army under the emperors made military service a coveted occupation. The position of the soldier in imperial Rome was very similar to the position he now occupies in modern Germany. An assault by a Praetorian might neither be warded off nor judicially punished, and in the court martial of the regiment no witness or evidence would be obtainable. We get in the first volume an interesting chapter on the position of women. Roman maidenhood did not last long. As soon as puberty was reached betrothal and marriage followed. Many mothers gave the whole care of their children to nurses, slaves, and often barbarians. Wet nursing, though deplored by philosophers such as Favorinus and Plutarch, was the general rule both in Greece and Italy. Girls were all taught to spin and weave, and even Augustus wore the work of the hands of his wife and sisters. Daughters in the higher ranks received learned instruction at home. Only the smaller people sent their girls every morning to early school to be disciplined by the master, "so hated both of boys and girls." Music and dancing formed an important part of the education of girls. Catalina's friend Sempronia, who knew both Greek and Roman literature well, "danced and sang better," says Sallust, "than an honest woman should." The art of dancing consisted in rhythmic movements of the upper part of the body and the arms; and then, as now, no little of the grace of the women of Rome was attributable to national dances. Generally marriages were matters of family convenience and money often determined the selection of the husband. A betrothal, however long, did not affect the relations of the pair. They still did not know each other unless the bride was given to her husband before reaching puberty. Any animal or slave, says Seneca, or every article of clothing or dish is tested before purchase, but never the bride by her groom. Any vices she may have—of passion, stupidity, or mis-shapeliness—are learnt only after marriage. The modern conception of the bride with its hallowed associations was unknown to Greece and Rome."

It would be impossible in the course of a brief review to deal with the immense variety of subjects which come within the scope of Friedländer's "*Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*." It is a vast mine of information to the sociologist and is written in a most readable style. It is to be hoped that the English translation, which is very carefully done, will be appreciated as it deserves. We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Magnus and Mr. Freese for the care and labour they have bestowed upon this important work and for making it accessible to English readers. It would have been an advantage to the reader if the volumes had been numbered on the cover. It is only when we look inside that we discover whether we have volume one or volume three in our hands. In other respects the publishers have done their work excellently and the work is very cheap at six shillings a volume.

W. D. M.

"*Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul.*" By T. G. Tucker. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1910. 12/6 net.

Of the many attempts to make clear to modern readers the daily life, the habits, the common thoughts of the ancient Roman of the later Republic or the early Empire, Professor Tucker's is perhaps the clearest. Former writers on the subject were inclined to ignore the free workers

and to a large extent the middle classes, and tell only of the rich, their parasites and slaves, and of the learned, the poets, artists and philosophers, who lived by their patronage. Still worse, these earlier exponents of Roman life were eager to display their learning and inclined to exaggerate the differences between the times of Julius Cæsar or of Nero and our own. The author of this work, however, strives rather by the ease and simplicity of his style to distract attention from his extensive knowledge of antiquity; and by a constant reference to similarity of motives underlying differences of custom or institutions, by apt comparisons with the habits of the modern world or the Rome of to-day, he makes reasonable and explicable much that had appeared inexplicable or grotesque. He makes us see the man under the Roman. The Roman's house and daily occupation, his wife and her dress, the public games, travel, the absence of the modern hotel, the habitual presence and profusion of art, all are set forth in a way that seizes on the reader's interest, and compels his attention. That the author of this study of the ancient world holds a chair in the University of Melbourne, perhaps the least historic of the great cities of the world, affords a final touch to the delightful contrast of old and new.

Professor Tucker's modest survey makes no claim to the originality or insight of such works as Dr. Dill's *Studies of Roman Civilisation*; nor does it profess to deal except incidentally with the evolution of thought. Where, however, problems that have been fertile in differences of opinion present themselves, they are not shirked. The contrast between the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire, and the comparative ease with which Rome assimilated the latter, is made evident; nor does the author doubt the great advantage accruing to the Provinces by the substitution of the Imperial Dictatorship for the corrupt rule of the Aristocratic and Plutocratic Republic. Even under the Empire, the provinces administered by the Emperor were better governed than those administered by the Senate; and this was true even when a Caligula or a Nero made the capital, or at least the court, tremble. But he is wise not to follow up his suggested comparison between the Roman Empire and the British Raj in India. Many contrasts would be found even if the Empire be taken in its early years, and these increase as the Provincials become more and more Romanised, and consequently more and more on an equality with Romans in fact and opinion. In another connection, we are very pertinently reminded that the attempt of some thinkers to found morality on a purely rational basis was bound to fail, owing to the backward state of ancient science. Some interesting pages are devoted to the consideration of the causes and character of the early persecutions of the Christians.

S. H. SWINNY.

PHILANTHROPY AND THE STATE.

"Philanthropy and the State, or Social Politics." By B. Kirkman Gray. (P. S. King & Son, 1908).

The sudden and most regrettable death of Mr. Kirkman Gray left this work unfinished. Mrs. Gray has been fortunate in securing in Miss B. L. Hutchins a most sympathetic and competent collaborator in the task of preparing her husband's manuscript for publication; but these two ladies have satisfied themselves with clearing away the scaffolding and

unused material from the unfinished edifice, rather than attempting to complete it themselves. They have, no doubt, chosen wisely; for the scheme of the book is a very ambitious one. Mr. Gray was aiming at nothing less than a theory of the internal life of the State of the twentieth century, of the relations between the collective organisation of the community with, on the one hand, all forms of social disease, and on the other with the activities of those citizens willing and able to devote surplus energies and resources to social amelioration. Such a theory would be a great and vital contribution to political science. Whether it can rightly be constructed on Mr. Gray's lines, without a larger consideration of the external life of the State, is perhaps doubtful. Whether, assuming that he was on the right track, Mr. Gray could, if he had lived, have attained the end he sought, cannot now be known. But, at any rate, he had some exceptional qualifications for the task; and even in its incomplete condition, his work is most valuable and suggestive.

The story of Britain in the nineteenth century, according to Mr. Gray, is that of the evolution of self-consciousness in the State. To push further the organic analogy which is always present in Mr. Gray's mind, the State has in the last hundred years been undergoing the experience of conversion, of conviction of sin, of realisation of the necessity for amendment, and of effort, hesitating and feeble, but yet continuous and gradually more effective, towards self-reform. In this process the work of the philanthropist has been all important—but it has rarely been what the philanthropist supposed it was. The philanthropist's real function is to be the inward monitor to the slowly evolving conscience of the nation, to be the gadfly of Socrates' metaphor; and even when the philanthropist has been most determined to act on purely voluntary and individual lines, refusing State help, and eschewing State inspection, what is permanently valuable in his work is that he has demonstrated the existence of a human need which can only be adequately met by State action.

The beginning of the nineteenth century found the State dominated by the doctrine of *laissez faire*. The business of home government was to enforce contract, to secure a clear field for the captain of industry, who, provided he sought pecuniary profit with a single eye, not only created the best possible organisation of labour for public ends, but also, *in the long run*, the best possible conditions of life for the workers individually. As for meliorative action to combat sickness, ignorance, the distress of widows and orphans and of the aged, that was the field for private charity. Nor was this clear-cut division of the separate spheres of government on the one hand and of philanthropy on the other, the result of political theory only. It was an arrangement which, in general, seemed right and inevitable to the philanthropists themselves, (Owen and the Factory and Health agitators are notable exceptions), and in fact, to a very great extent *was* inevitable, because the state organisation, in its then rudimentary stage, was an utterly unfit instrument for "social politics." By slow degrees throughout the century urgent social need has compelled social action, function has created social organisation, and our complicated and clumsy system of local government with central supervising departments, of education, health and destitution authorities has been created, which works badly enough, in all conscience, but yet does work. At every step, however, progress has had to be made in the teeth of the old theory, until at last the theory is itself generally repudiated. But

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—and this is the central problem for Mr. Gray—what is the new theory which ought to take its place?

Mr. Gray searches for the material for this guiding theory in the study of the various types of State relations with philanthropic organisations. He classifies these under the six heads of *Annexation*, as in Elementary Education, in which a complete sphere of action has passed entirely from the philanthropist to the community; *Partition*, as in the provision of Hospitals; *Co-operation*, as in Reformatories and Industrial Schools; *Supervision*, as over the Voluntary Schools; *Co-ordination*, as in Inebriate Homes; and *Delegation*, as in the case of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, where the State deliberately abstains from providing a public machinery for the enforcement of its own law. Wherever work is left entirely to the philanthropist, whether it be a whole department of social life, or a definite share of such a department, he finds that the work is done ineffectively, that the financial basis is inadequate, and that extent is aimed at rather than thoroughness, because the donor requires much show for little cash. Philanthropic sentiment "tends to dwell on what is done, rather on what is left undone . . . it is well to remember the one, not to forget the many. Even as to the one, the feeling of the philanthropist is often relieved before the need of the recipient." On the other hand, where the State takes exclusive charge of one particular part of the social treatment of social disease, as in prison administration, its defects are no less radical and the results no less deplorable. The State is relatively effective in action, but it is narrow in outlook. Philanthropy is casual, fluctuating, unreliable, but it has grasped the fundamental conception of Human Need. Hence it is clear that the problem of securing social health can only be solved by the co-ordination, on right principles, of the organised action of the community and of the free initiative of individuals and voluntary organisations. But again—what are these right principles? In Mr. Gray's unfinished book there is no answer. He does, it is true, make practical suggestions in relation to one social problem after another (suggestions generally in harmony with the proposals of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission); but these do not satisfy him. It is a fundamental social theory that he declares to be necessary, and if he formed his theory he did not live to enunciate it.

G. S.

A SURVEY OF NORWICH.

"Norwich, a Social Study." By C. B. Hawkins. Philip Lee Warner. 5/- net.

This is the latest addition to the growing library of sociological research applied to the study of cities. Mr. Hawkins presents a very interesting picture of the present industrial conditions and the various influences which react on industry and make Norwich a contrast to other towns of its size and class. He brings out clearly points which deserve greater publicity than they have so far received: the prevalence of low wages and low efficiency among the workers, the city's large pauper population and the high poor rate co-existing with an unusually large income from endowed charities—a record which strikes one as black. Fortunately for Norwich, its condition is not quite so bad as the face value of its statistics would have us believe.

The best part of the book is undoubtedly that devoted to unemployment and boy labour and the author's suggestions whereby they may be reduced. A good deal of enlightening matter has recently been gathered together by the Board of Trade and the Poor Law Commissioners and, armed with this and the results of his own enquiry, Mr. Hawkins has put on record a very clear statement of the difficult problem confronting the civic conscience of Norwich. The case put briefly is that Norwich is suffering from a later and a slower transition than other towns of its kind from industry in which the greater part of the labour was skilled to newer forms in which the amount of skilled labour required is steadily decreasing. Norwich in its golden age was the great centre of East Anglian woollen manufacture. Now only a paltry 3 per cent. of its occupied population is engaged in textile manufacture, and that not woollen. Boot and shoe manufacture takes 15 per cent, food and drink (such as chocolate making and aerated water manufacture) 10 per cent., clothing 6 per cent. In these last three classes—which comprise nearly a third of all the persons engaged in occupations—45 per cent. of the workers are women. And there, according to the author, we can put a finger on the city's evil case, or at least its main cause, the others being the prevalence of boy labour and the existence of the weekly market—one of the largest in England.

The employment of women, there is no doubt, lessens the employment of men in a given industry and generally tends to lower the wage of those remaining in it. But I think Mr. Hawkins's conclusion that "their (men's) wages fall and their numbers increase because women are attracted to the city and *bring their men folk with them*" is scarcely to be accepted without more evidence than he brings forward. That women workers bring their men in tow is a startling proposition. There is an influence at work, which Mr. Hawkins does not mention, attracting men to the Norwich labour market. Although wages are lower in Norwich than in other urban areas, still they are higher there than in rural Norfolk which has the unenviable position of standing next lowest among English counties in the level of its agricultural wage. This condition attracts men to the East Anglian capital, and their numbers swell the remnants of the past two generations of skilled workers who have been squeezed out by the decay of older industries and the spread of machinery requiring fewer men (Mr. Hawkins does mention the high proportion of men in the older age groups). In his chapter on boy labour Mr. Hawkins suggests two remedies. They are, that the income in the hands of the Charity Trustees for apprentices' premiums, at present only sufficient for 37 boys, should be made available for a much larger number by way of scholarships at a day trade school for half the boy's time, or, alternately, that the leaving age should be raised to 15, the last two years being devoted to definite industrial training. The great weekly cattle market is the magnet which draws casual labourers from all parts of East Anglia. The author suggests some sort of licensing scheme to regularise employment and to isolate the irreducible minimum of casual labourers so that they might be effectively handled.

It is an undeniable fact that there is a large pauper population in Norwich (10 per cent., while Yarmouth has only 6, Ipswich 5, and even London 7), and the proportion of unemployed is larger than good civic government should permit. The apologists of Norwich point to the fact that it does its best, that both its total and its poor rate are among the

highest in the kingdom, and that, provided the money is wisely spent, it is hard to say what more could be done. The fact that Norwich has a total rate of 9/10 in the £1 certainly looks bad, for East and West Ham are the only other urban areas with higher rates. But Norwich has that to set against its high rate which neither E. nor W. Ham possesses. The assessment on which the rate is levied is very low, although not so low as it was at the beginning of the century. Up to a few years ago the height of the Norwich rate was due in part also to a second factor, of the existence of which Mr. Hawkins seems to have been unaware. Owners of small cottages were allowed to compound their rates and Norwich allowed compounders the highest abatement the statute permits. In one year, for example, out of a total of 27,000 houses, 18,000 had their rates compounded, entailing a loss of 30 per cent. on the rates of one third of the city. This big loss to the town revenue had to be made good by the rates. But the abatement has been reduced to 15 per cent. and Norwich is now in line with other urban areas. Mr. Hawkins calls attention to the good record of Norwich as to density of population (15 per acre), its small amount of overcrowding ($3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) being due to the fact that "almost every family has a whole house to itself," all conditions undoubtedly brought about by the fact that the abatement in rates fostered the building of cottages rather than tenements. Outside the old and congested city Norwich consists of mile upon mile of monotonous streets of five-roomed houses.

"Historically," says Mr. Hawkins, "the board of guardians is, curiously enough, older than the town council, which really dates in everything but name from the Municipal Corporations Act of 1832." Now, there is nothing of which Norwich is prouder than its long and unbroken record of town council government. The changes to which the town council of Norwich had to submit in 1832 were, it is true, radical in character, but they were not greater reforms than had occurred at earlier periods of the city's history. Yet these earlier changes are not generally considered as having broken the continuity of its government by a council which was always more or less the choice of the people from Domesday downwards.

ELSIE WATSON.

FINANCE IN VARIOUS ASPECTS.

"Stocks and Shares." By Hartley Withers. Smith, Elder & Co.
7/6 net.

Mr. Hartley Withers, having published for the instruction of the plain man an untechnical treatise on the meaning of money, has now performed a kindred service in regard to the world of joint-stock enterprise. It is a region in which most of us are in some degree concerned, but which, according to the motto on the title page, not one in forty understands. Anyone, no matter how feeble his financial faculty, may become acquainted with its outline if he will make the slight effort necessary in order to follow Mr. Withers in his exposition of the Stock Exchange, the various classes of investments, prospectuses and balance-sheets, government and municipal stock, the movements of securities, and the difference between the real and the speculative investor. Stocks and shares are primarily the product of public debts and joint-stock companies. These are both, Mr. Withers reminds us, comparatively modern inventions, public debts

being in fact a complete reversal of ancient practice. The wealth heaped up by Pericles in the Acropolis at Athens, and the treasure in the Temple of Saturn at Rome forcibly taken by Cæsar in defiance of the protesting tribune, are familiar examples; as also, Mr. Withers might have added, is the still prevalent custom of hoarding treasure in the East. The mediæval monarchical system made the debts of the king to a certain extent a personal matter, and as we know a monarch in debt had various ways of treating both his subjects and his foreign creditors. Philip the Second's repudiation of his liabilities is on record in a document which Mr. Withers describes as "a brilliant gem in the literature of royal bankruptcy," while the comparatively mild action of Charles the Second in laying hands on the deposits of the London goldsmiths "was a potent cause of the City's Whiggish enthusiasm which induced it later to support the Government of William and Mary and found the Bank of England for its financial support. It was also connected with the beginnings of our national debt, in the truly national sense." There seems to be some doubt as to which government first hit on the happy device of filling its exchequer by drawing bills on posterity. Thorold Rogers contended that it was the Dutch, during the course of their long struggle with Spain in the sixteenth century; but Mr. Withers cites a passage in Blackstone's Commentaries showing that the city of Florence anticipated Holland by a few centuries. The trenchant author of "An Empire in Pawn" is not the only contemporary observer who has wondered whether posterity will submit for all time to bear the crushing burdens handed down by its predecessors.

Mr. Withers's most entertaining chapter is one in which he describes the flotation of a typical joint-stock company in these days. He takes the case of a pioneer who has discovered a first-rate tooth-powder. Mr. Cleanbite lives at Brixton and has a small practice as a dentist in Finsbury Circus. One of his neighbours in Finsbury is a certain Mr. Mortimer (Mordecai is the name under which his birth was actually registered), a company promoter. Fortune smites Mortimer one chilly March morning with a raging tooth-ache and drives him into the dentist's lair:

In the course of his investigations Cleanbite infers that the tooth-powder employed by Mortimer might be improved on, and gives him the prescription for his own, and so the train is laid. The next interview between the pair is across a luncheon table in a well-known city restaurant and Mortimer is proposing to buy outright the dentist's rights in the manufacture of the tooth-powder. Cleanbite is flustered but firm. He has read *Tono-Bungay* and sees visions of millions. He will not sell outright, but is quite prepared to deal on terms which will retain for him an interest in the enterprise.

Business thereupon proceeds rapidly. A memorandum of association is drawn up empowering the Hygienic Tooth-powder Company, Limited, to do nearly everything under the sun; a group of directors, the right kind, is got together—no titles ("that bait won't do nowadays"), but "a nice scientific board with a business man as chairman to take care of them." Mortimer, in the meantime, is busy with other preliminary spade work. A popular newspaper opens its columns to a correspondence headed "Are Teeth Necessary?" and one of the brightest pens in Fleet Street is engaged on a series of "write up" articles on tooth-powder, beginning with the Babylonian period and the Third Egyptian Dynasty, with a remarkable analysis of the favourite powder used by Sesostris the Nineteenth, of which

a sample, by some happy chance, was found in his mummy case. Later we have a scholarly reference to the Augustan age and the evidence of Horace's Satires, and on the day when the prospectus is ready the final article of the series makes its timely appearance, demonstrating that the last word in tooth-powders has been uttered by the Hygienic Tooth-powder Company.

Mr. Withers has useful things to say on such subjects as the reckless adventures of governments, the relation between war and debt, and the true bearings of municipal finance. He observes that the City's dislike of municipal loans is due, not only to individualist prejudice, but also to the fact that "the company-promoting and stock-dealing classes think that their province is invaded when tramways, waterworks, gas and electric lighting businesses are taken over or started by municipalities." Criticism, we are told, is good for municipal enterprise, since it "has certain idealistic tendencies which are admirable in their right place and up to the right point, but may lead to mischief unless carefully watched." Here perhaps, and in the description of the Stock Exchange and its diverse elements, we come upon the nearest approach to a sociological criticism which Mr. Withers has attempted. It is slight and casual, as might be expected in a book of this kind. In taking leave of it we may remark that one of the things most urgently needing to be done by a competent investigator is an analysis of the modern financial system from the social standpoint and a statement of the ways in which the "real investor," as Mr. Withers calls him in contradistinction to the gambler in stocks, may use his capital towards the continuous improvement of his own city or countryside. The paper on foreign investment as a factor in civilisation read by Mr. George Paish before the Statistical Society last month, treats suggestively one important aspect of the general subject, and is of great interest to sociologists; but still more so, we venture to think, would be a consideration of the manifold values of investment in relation to the society of which the investor is himself a unit.

"The Rise of the London Money Market, 1640-1826." By W. R. Bisschop, LL.D., with a preface by H. S. Foxwell, M.A. P. S. King & Son. 5/- net.

This is an English version of Dr. Bisschop's admirable monograph, originally published in Dutch fifteen years ago. Professor Foxwell, in his introduction, remarks that those who have worked at the history of English banking know well that the special chapter of that history which Dr. Bisschop has attacked is the most obscure and difficult of all and has hardly been attempted by English writers. Every historian has something to say about the goldsmith bankers, but it is surprising how little definite knowledge we have of the business done by these men. The very date at which they began operations is still unsettled. It is in his analysis of the growth of English banking business and English banking documents that, according to Professor Foxwell, the chief value of Dr. Bisschop's work may be found. This is a judgment which will be confirmed by the reader as he follows the lucid account of the early London bankers, the establishment, working, and repeal of the Bank of England's monopoly, the subsequent development of the country banks and the substitution of the cheque for the note system. It is not part of Dr. Bisschop's plan to write a history of the Bank of England—that has already been done; but

he gives just enough of it to make clear the national and social aspects of the monopoly and the movement by which it was overthrown. Incidentally we get glimpses into that interesting section of English mercantile life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries represented by the private banks, while a short concluding chapter is devoted to a description of the precise status and function of a bank in the modern capitalist State.

NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE: A review of the relations between the central and local authorities in England, France, Belgium, and Prussia, during the nineteenth century. By J. Watson Grice, B.Sc. (Econ.), London. With a preface by Sidney Webb, LL.B. P. S. King & Son. 10/6 net.

This volume, belonging to the series of monographs by writers connected with the London School of Economics, is published opportunely in view of the growing urgency of readjustment in the relations existing between central and local financial administration. Mr. Grice reviews first the situation in England from the period following the Reform Act down to the epoch of grants-in-aid to local authorities. He discusses the principles and administration of the grants, and then proceeds to an examination of the theories and systems prevailing in continental countries. A useful chapter is concerned with the resources of local authorities. A bibliography and statistical tables are added. Mr. Webb's preface is an interesting defence of the thesis that we in England, by our unself-conscious invention of the grant-in-aid, have gone far to combine local autonomy with the necessary protection of the interests of the community as a whole.

"THE STATE AND THE DOCTOR." By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans 1910, 6/- net, pp. 276 & xiv.

"The State and the Doctor" is a summary of the facts observed and the conclusions reached by Mrs. Webb in the course of her work as a member of the Poor Law Commission, 1905-9. Much of the material has thus already appeared in the Minority Report and other documents issued by the Commission, but we think the authors were well advised to publish this volume separately, not only because it is readable and may interest many who would not be prepared to read the original blue-books, but also because it collects together a quantity of information on the subject of medical relief "preventive medicine," and public health, not otherwise easily accessible.

In a brief historical introduction Mr. and Mrs. Webb sketch the causes that led to the present condition of "overlapping and hiatus." The 1834 Commission hoped to extinguish pauperism by the universal adoption of the workhouse test. This was in their more exalted moments; at other times experience and observation brought home to them the fact that a vast amount of pauperism was the direct and immediate result of ill-health. Sanitary science was then in its infancy; and the rapid growth of industrial urban districts without adequate communal provision for refuse removal and water supply, caused a deplorable amount of fever and epidemic disease, not to mention recurring outbreaks of cholera and small-pox. The Poor Law Commissioners urged the taking of measures for the prevention of disease, which, as both Dr. Southwood Smith and Chadwick, the pioneers of sanitary reform, saw, was a necessary part of the campaign against pauperism. The Poor

Law Authorities, however, did not succeed in sanitary reform, and in 1848 a General Board of Health was constituted, and most of the sanitary control was taken out of their hands.

Public health work has since been carried on on the three-fold principle of "the universal provision of the necessary public services, the compulsory enforcement of the sanitary measures deemed necessary, and (in isolation hospitals . . .) the curative treatment of those unable to provide for themselves." These principles, which had as it were, evolved under the strain and stress of the fight with fever and disease, are in sharp contrast with the distinctive principle of the Poor Law, that poor persons should as far as possible be deterred from applying for relief. The two authorities have in fact a different origin in history, date from a different stage of knowledge and social experience, and have a different tradition and purpose.

As long as the work of the Public Health Authorities was chiefly confined to the external environment—water supply, refuse-removal, provision of open spaces etc.—the conflict of aim and purpose did not so much matter. "Gradually, however, the sphere of Sanitation and Public Health has become enlarged. From the non-human environment it has proceeded to the human being himself . . . The Medical Officers of Health have during the last two decades turned more and more, for the reduction of the death rate and the sickness rate, to the treatment of the human being who forms, after all, so large and influential a part of the environment of his neighbours" (pp. 11-12). As the Public Health Authorities have been driven to include individual treatment and advice as part of their policy of the prevention of disease, they have inevitably come into conflict with the rival authority whose mission was to give relief in sickness, but as far as possible to deter people from applying for relief. To add to the confusion, we have also a vast amount of charitable or partly charitable agencies for the relief of sickness, hospitals, dispensaries, "medical missions," clubs, etc., these being usually quite unco-ordinated with the public bodies already mentioned, and with each other.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb urge that the Public Health Authority is by far the most suitable body to be charged with medical relief, its mission being the prevention of the causes of disease and insanitary conditions, and not the mere relief of symptoms, and that the medical side of the Poor Law, having been shown to be incapable of dealing with modern conditions, and its traditions out of touch with modern social science, might well be dropped altogether. Such a proposal is certainly entitled to the best consideration of legislators and the public, in view both of the enormous waste, overlapping, and neglect which results from the present chaos of competing authorities, and of the unique knowledge and experience of local government possessed by the two distinguished publicists who made it.

B. L. H.

"The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909." By Edward G. Browne. Cambridge University Press, 1910. 10/- net.

Professor Browne's valuable and timely account of the Nationalist uprising in Persia is too exclusively political in substance for extended review in these pages, but no student of sociology will deny, or wish to minimize, the significance of Eastern Nationalism as a factor in social evolution. The philosophical basis of Nationalism is not discussed by

Professor Browne, who is, naturally, more concerned with the task of putting the reader in possession of the salient facts and documents of the movement to which he has devoted so large an amount of labour and enthusiasm. He states in his preface that throughout the book three principles are assumed: (1) that in this world diversity, not uniformity, is the higher law and more desirable state; (2) that everything has its own generic perfection, only attainable by the realisation of its own highest potentialities, not by the adoption or attempted adoption of the attributes of something else; (3) that, whether it be a question of individuals or nations, the destruction of a distinctive type is a loss to the universe and therefore an evil. The assimilation of these doctrines, necessarily, as Professor Browne says, colours one's whole view of the many questions to which they relate, and it has made him a convinced believer in the value to the world of small nationalities. Certain exceptional peoples, such as the Greeks in Europe, have contributed so much to the spiritual, intellectual, and artistic wealth of the human race that their submergence must be reckoned a calamity which no expediency can justify.

What Greece owes to this feeling is known to all, and I suppose that few would deny that modern Greece owes her independence to her ancient glories. And Persia, I venture to think, stands in this respect in the same category. Of all the ancient nations whose names are familiar to us Persia is almost the only one which still exists as an independent political unit within her old frontiers (sadly contracted, it is true, since Darius the Great caused to be engraved on the rocks of Bagastāna or Bisutūn, in characters still legible, the long list of the provinces which obeyed him and brought him tribute), inhabited by a people still wonderfully homogeneous, considering the vicissitudes through which they have passed, and still singularly resembling their ancient forbears.

Professor Browne begins his narrative with an illuminating account of Sayyid Jamālu'd-dīn, the protagonist of Pan-Islamism, and follows this with a recital of the events connected with the granting of the tobacco concession to an English company, in 1890, from which all the recent misfortunes of Turkey may be said to have arisen. The story of the revolution and its varying fortunes is told in detail, and, being the only record so far published in English, it is indispensable as an aid to the understanding of the renaissance of Asia.

INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Sir Henry Trueman Wood, M.A. John Murray. 5/- net.

IN April last Sir Henry Trueman Wood read a paper before the Society of Arts, of which body he is secretary, on the condition of England at the time of the Society's foundation in 1754. The paper has been expanded into the present small volume, which contains a summary of the facts relating to all the principal English trades during the epoch of industrial revolution. The author, who makes no claim to originality, expresses the modest hope that the book may be useful as ancillary to the work of the historians and as giving in a collected form information now for the most part scattered about in trade and local histories. To this extent it will certainly be of service, notwithstanding that the treatment of some industries is very brief. Members of the Sociological Society may be disappointed at the absence of historical and philosophical discussion, but the statement of theory, it may be remarked, was no part of the author's purpose.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, December.—C. F. Emerick, discussing *A Neglected Factor in Race Suicide*, deals suggestively with the tendency of modern industrialism to segregate the sexes. Most industries prefer one sex or the other. The work of the pioneer, for example, calls for strength, endurance, and the spirit of adventure: hence the admonition "Go West," was addressed to the young man before the young woman. Result, a large excess of males on the frontiers of the United States, and an excess of females on the Atlantic slope. In the Californian mining camps during the years following the discovery of gold women made up only two per cent. of the population. The miners would travel for miles to see a child, and would weep at the sound of its voice. As the pioneer conditions are modified the sexes tend to equalise; but in the United States two counter movements have probably more than offset this tendency; first, the swarming of women into cities; secondly, the immense foreign immigration. Higher wages and the opportunities of freedom attract women to the cities, while in general rural pursuits attract males. On the other hand, migration tends to the increase of males; fully three-fifths of the immigrants are males. The males in the United States not only outnumber the females, but the proportion of males is increasing. Immigration tends to segregate the sexes in that portion of the population which is of marriageable age. Again, women outnumber men in the agricultural regions of the South and the cotton-mill towns of New England, while the reverse is true of the mining, steel and electrical centres. Wherever monogamy prevails the relative scarcity of either sex enforces a certain amount of celibacy upon the other. In America unequal distribution of the sexes is of a three-fold character. There is a large excess of males in the West, due to the westward migration; there is a notable excess of females in cities and of males in country districts, because of the different demands of urban and rural development; and there is a considerable excess of males in the total population to which foreign immigration contributes. The restriction of marriage caused by these inequalities is further affected by distance and by social, racial, and international differences. Of the influences tending to dissociate the sexes economic conditions are the most important; the affections play a subordinate rôle. The limitations upon marriage due to segregation are for the most part independent of the human will and make for involuntary rather than voluntary celibacy. The net effect of the several tendencies noted has been unfavourable to the marriage rate. Assuming that births have varied directly with marriages, it has also been unfavourable to the birth-rate.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, November.—The commendable tendency towards inquiry into concrete civic problems noticeable in recent American research is illustrated here in a study of a special housing question in Chicago—the crowding of poor families into furnished rooms. The paper is by two women students of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy—S. P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott. They describe the peculiar feature in this development of overcrowding—namely, the degradation of the commodious houses which have survived from an earlier period,

houses unsuited to tenement purposes, and the ways in which they are made to serve the needs of a continually shifting population. The greatest evil of what is called the furnished rooming-house, they point out, is not the bad or inadequate sanitary arrangements, dark rooms, or danger from fire, but the debasement that comes of crowded living, with broken and verminous furniture, absence of all privacy, and familiarity with vice. The article is illustrated by photographs which appear to show a condition of things less squalid than could be found without difficulty in any English city.—“The influence of newspaper presentations upon the growth of crime and other anti-social activity” is an inquiry, by Frances Fenton, into the suggestive power of the sensational Press. The writer makes use of various special investigations lately made in the United States. They are, of necessity, fragmentary, and a plea is made for a more complete scientific study of newspaper influence and an analysis of its psychology.—Other articles: L. L. Bernard, *The Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control*; Louis Wallis, *Biblical Sociology*, V; Georg Simmel, *How is Society Possible?* (translation of a passage from his “Sociologie”).

EUGENICS REVIEW, November.—This number is entirely devoted to a discussion of the Royal Commission's Reports on the Poor Law in relation to eugenic principles and policy. A special committee appointed by the Council of the Eugenics Education Society undertook an inquiry at the beginning of 1910, and the results, necessarily tentative, are here set forth. We have, first, a report by the committee on the eugenic principle in Poor Law administration; secondly, a report on the treatment of the feeble-minded; thirdly, an investigation into pauper family histories, with a chart and several pages of individual examples. Mr. E. J. Lidbetter, of Bethnal Green, gives some examples of Poor Law eugenics, with diagrams, and the rival reports of the Royal Commissioners are summarized respectively by Dr. C. S. Loch and Mr. Sidney Webb.—Dr. David Starr Jordan contributes a short note containing a startling statement of the results obtained in a single decade at Aosta by the segregation of cretins in the refuge of *Les Petites Soeurs des Pauvres*. Dr. Jordan found that whereas at the time of his previous visits, the latest of which was in 1890, Aosta contained large numbers of cretins and of sufferers from goitre, “the segregation of the idiots from other people and from each other had put an end absolutely and suddenly to the development of cretinism, and a similar treatment, together with medical aid, has almost extinguished the goitre in the same valley.”

ECONOMIC JOURNAL, December.—The opening article, *Economic Security and Unemployment Insurance*, is part of the notable address delivered by Sir H. Llewellyn Smith before the Economic Section of the British Association at Sheffield in September. He asks whether the tendency to exalt security as an end is a healthy tendency, or ought it to fill us with apprehension? “The question is cogent and searching, and modern nations must find the true answer at their peril, for if the two ideals of free adventure and economic security admit of no reconciliation, then the fate of our civilisation is only a matter of time.” Fortunately, the writer thinks, there is no need to admit the essential opposition of these two ideals. As adventure may be noble or ignoble, so there is a noble as well as an ignoble ideal of security.—Other articles: Prof. W. J. Ashley, *The Statistical Measurement of Profit*; R. A. Lehfeldt, *On Financiers' Profits*; Prof. G. Cohn, *Municipal Socialism*; Prof. D. H. Macgregor, *Poverty Figures*.

TOWN-PLANNING REVIEW, October.—The Town-planning Conference and Exhibition take up, necessarily, a large part of this number, the papers emanating from the Liverpool School of Civic Design being given in full. Professor Ramsay Muir contributes a paper on Central Liverpool, "an attempt at an analysis of the geographical distribution of civic functions." Mr. Patrick Abercrombie has a lengthy article on the planning and civic development of Vienna, fruit of the visit paid last June by a party of English housing reformers. There are also notes on some German garden villages and a short account of the laying out of the Champs de Mars, Paris.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS, October.—The teaching of two prominent contemporary thinkers is partially dealt with in the two opening articles, Dr. Bosanquet discussing *The Prediction of Human Conduct in relation to Bergson's leading idea*, and Mr. S. H. Mellone expounding the idealism of Rudolph Eucken.—In *Two Modern Social Philosophies*, Mr. E. L. Talbert examines the philosophical origins of Socialism and Anarchism.—Miss Helen Wodehouse has a suggestive paper *On Thinking about Oneself*. Is the habit, she asks, as universal as it seems, and why is it so universal? How has it managed to get established in the course of evolution? Why does it give such keen pleasure, and why do we disapprove of it so fiercely in other people?

GERMAN.

VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE PHILOSOPHIE UND SOCIOLOGIE (October).—If there are any sociologists so discouraged by the vastness of their science as to become ineffectives, they should read a clear and clever piece of Bergsonian epistemology which Eduard Stamm contributes to this number, under the title *Das Prinzip der Identität und der Kausalität*. He distinguishes between knowledge, which includes individual experiences, and science, which is built up, even in the psychological department, on invariable elements, which are again elaborated into more and more complex invariables; and shows how the principle of causality and prediction can never be made to work quite logically among these unchangeable entities belonging to the past. As M. Stamm demonstrates, in all thinking and acting there must always be a certain amount of philosophic living from hand to mouth. At some points in the chain of both practical and theoretical reasoning a leap in the dark has to be made, and the spirit of adventure must solve the problems that science cannot illuminate. But the prospect of sociological advance should not therefore appear gloomy, for "even blind men reach their goal; only their progress is rather slow, and often they have to stand still to explore their surroundings." A similar idea is brought out, in a very different way, in a paper, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung des Ästhetischen und der Kunst*, which occupies the first place. The author, Richard Müller-Freienfels, quotes Goethe to the effect that an artist does not paint or compose or write to convey information, or make himself understood, but to stimulate the reader to interpret the work in his own way,—that is to say, for the sake of knowledge rather than science, and to have the courage to act in accordance with that interpretation. He describes æsthetic experience as that the value of which consists in itself, not, as in the case of everyday, bread-and-butter

activities, in any ends beyond itself. Other articles: *Indische Gedanken in der islamischen Philosophie*, by M. M. Horten, and *Die Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer Beleuchtung*, by the Editor. The latter gives an account of the growth of liberalism in politics and economics; and both contain useful historical information.

To British readers the chief interest of the *ARCHIV FÜR RASSEN- U. GESELLSCHAFTS-BIOLOGIE* for December will lie in *Der Einfluss des Tropenklimas auf den blonden Europäer*, by J. H. F. Kohlbrugge, *Kulturelle Entwicklung und Absterbeordnung*, by Dr. Fr. Prinzing, and *Der verschiedene Widerstand der Geschlechter gegen der Entartung*, by Dr. von den Velden. M. Kohlbrugge states, but not dogmatically, that there are no important anatomical or physiological differences between settlers and natives, and carefully explains how Northerners lose their freshness of colour and their stiffness of limb in the Tropics. But it is the slackening effect of the climate on the nervous system that strikes him the most forcibly. Because, on this account, it is impossible for the European, or at any rate for his descendants of pure breed, to work there with his accustomed energy, particularly at mental tasks, he recommends a political policy of give-and-take between the European and the native, whereby, as neither can do without the other, they would derive the greatest possible benefit from one another's mental and physical superiorities in relation to the environment. Taking a high level of general well-being, cleanliness, extensive facilities for communication and public-health propaganda as criteria of civilisation, Dr. Prinzing shows that the death-rate amongst civilised races is far smaller than amongst the uncivilised for all ages up to 35, when the balance changes in favour of the latter, on account of the alcoholism and industrial overstrain which prevail among the former. The reduction of child- and youth-mortality in educated societies he attributes chiefly to the scientific prevention of the spread of infectious diseases. He advises governing authorities not to wait for nature to bring about immunity from infection, and to slay myriads of people in the process, in that the death-rate in semi-civilised and savage communities is not a weeding-out of the weak or a selection of the strong. He recommends the promotion of national prosperity by means of the public hygiene movement, on the ground that this has greatly increased the effective birth-rate and reduced the vital cost of the production of population. Dr. von den Velden endeavours to prove that women can live under more unfavourable conditions than men and are more resistant to degeneration, that nature takes more trouble over keeping men alive than women, and that, therefore, after all, man is the crown of creation, and woman only a secondary being, the making of which does not call forth Nature's best efforts or full forces.

FRENCH.

In the news portion of the *REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE* (October) the sociologist will read, with interest, that the reason why the recent revolutions in Brazil, Turkey and Portugal have been comparatively quiet and humane, is that they have been engineered by Comtists. The fact that the spirit of the times is calling loudly for sociological thinking and acting in public life is further emphasized in a notice of a remarkably appreciative article on the coming International Congress of Sociology at Rome, which has lately appeared in a Berlin newspaper. "Sociology in the newspaper!" the writer exclaims; "the world is indeed advancing." The most interesting paper in this number is an account, by M. André Moufflet, of Clémence Royer, physicist, astronomer, chemist, naturalist, anthropologist, philosopher, sociologist, and moralist, translator of Darwin's "Origin of Species," and, as Renan

said, "almost a man of genius." Withal we find her making a rather pathetic effort to be "womanly," and unconventionally mending an old gown while she engages in scientific talk.

In the November issue we may see ourselves as others see us in a page or two of criticism by M. René Maunier, who accuses the British sociologist of misty thinking, and says that the product of this process is an anomalous body of beliefs and practices which is neither an art nor a science. In the longest article, *Machiavel et la politique moderne*, M. J. Novicow pulls the hero down from his pedestal, but not rudely, and regrets that the worship of the world has turned his political wisdom into obstinately crystallised cynicism. The opening pages of this number consist of the introduction to the new edition of M. Fouillée's "Science sociale contemporaine." His "idea-forces" tyrannise, somewhat, over his mind, but what he writes here about them is true enough—that the very existence of sociological thought will to some extent bring about its translation into action. "To conceive what is, what can be and what should be, to conceive the real and the ideal, is *ipso facto* to begin the reformation of the real in the direction of the ideal."

LA SCIENCE SOCIALE, though not strictly sociological, contains abundant material for sociology. The October-November issue is devoted to Portugal, its industry, trade, means of transport and public life, which are all treated with the thoroughness characteristic of this journal. Noticeable among the statements of general interest which the author, M. Léon Poincard, makes, is the opinion that the family, not the State, is the social molecule, and that industry, not politics, is the motor of national life. Some useful generalisations are also to be found in a comparative treatment of Free Trade to which he gives two or three pages. The opening notes demonstrate how the Americans have discovered ways of giving the university student enough responsibility and real work to make him eager to learn.

LE BULLETIN MENSUEL DE L'INSTITUT DE SOCIOLOGIE SOLVAY is a sociologist's *vade mecum* which is invaluable as a guide to literature and a treasury of news. The brief notes on publications, institutions, scientific expeditions, congresses, and the doings of sociologists, which follow the reviews, are very well classified, but they contain such a profusion of information that selection from them of matter of general interest is difficult. In view, however, of the perennial Weismann-Lamarck controversy, and the Lankester-Kropotkin phase which it has lately assumed, we may suppose that readers will be glad to hear of the observations of Dr. G. Lomer, which are mentioned in the October issue. He has noticed that the faces of purely European children in Japan and China often assimilate to the native type, while the Jews and the Sicilians in America become like the typical New Yorker; but he admits that this phenomenon is not an established fact. Women readers will note that Dr. F. P. Mall, after careful investigation, has been unable to discover any distinguishing anatomical differences between the brains of men and women, and between those of the members of different races; and students of the population problem that M. H. Barusky has published a study on the vital statistics of primitive races.

LA REVUE DE METAPHYSIQUE ET DE MORALE (November) opens with an article on the late Professor James, in which M. Emile Boutroux describes him as anti-academic, anti-official and anti-scholastic, and presents him in the same light as that in which it has been customary to place "a good man": he lived his philosophy, and

represented his creed in his conduct with genial goodwill. A clear exposition is given of the philosophy of "faith made whole by deed," according to which truth was a function of reality, not reality a function of truth; and a satisfactory statement is made of the differences between Professor James's Pragmatism and that of Professor Bergson. Of the physical theories of the latter there is a good deal of criticism in the next article, *L'espace et le temps des physiciens*. Professor Baldwin contributes a paper on the logic of action, and M. Paul Lapie a critical study of M. Lévy-Bruhl's pre-Darwinian theory that the mental endowments of savages differ in kind, not merely in degree, from those of civilized peoples.

Owing to its predominantly economic character, and, further, to the narrowing of its economics to the discussion of labour problems, LE MUSÉE SOCIALE does not receive the attention which it deserves from the sociologist. For the same reason the pamphlets which form the supplement of the Annals appeal to him more than the Annals themselves. The supplements for October and November concern garden-cities and open spaces, with a section on forestry which is all too short for the importance of the subject; the trade-union movement in Denmark, which is essentially reformative, not revolutionary, and which has brought about a solidarity among the workers that is something like brotherhood: and family, village, and commercial life in the part of Morocco where the recent military disturbances occurred.

ITALIAN.

REVISTA ITALIANA DI SOCIOLOGIA. Fasc. v-vi. S. R. Steinmetz: *L'avvenire della razza*. The social value of each individual will depend on his innate qualities and on the influence of the whole of his previous life; the best education can only develop the nature which he carries with him from his birth, and which determines the result of this education. The important question is—Who will be the ancestors of future generations? There are symptoms of a neo-Malthusianism in modern society—a numerous family no longer wins social esteem. On the other hand, there is a danger lest an improved hygiene may have an anti-social effect in promoting the propagation of the unfit. G. Puini: *L'Uomo e la Società Secondo la dottrina di Confucio*. It is necessary to know how Confucianism explains the formation of the universe to understand its further conception of the evolution of man and society. Psychical life, which becomes ever more and more intense with the advance of civilization, has its origin in that cosmic energy from which the whole proceeds. Social institutions are based on moral principles peculiar to man's nature—ceremonial on courtesy, juridical institutions on a sense of justice, etc. The natural equality of men is derived from their common origin, and within the state social equality depends on the fact that all forms of work being equally necessary, are equally honourable. G. Ciccotti: *Intorno all'interpretazione materialistica della storia*. An examination of the controversy raised by the author's book, "Il tramonto della Schiavitù nel mondo antico," which serves as a preface to the foreign editions. Starting with no *a priori* views as to the materialistic interpretation of history, the author sought to apply to it the touchstone of facts by the investigation of certain social phenomena. He drew the conclusion that in Greece, when purely economic considerations prevailed, slave labour was gradually superseded by free labour; facts recently brought to light confirm this view. Signore Ciccotti also quotes evidence to show that in Egypt free labour was also all important especially in trade and

industry. *Note e Comunicazioni*.—A. G. Maliandi: *L'astrolatria presso le tribù primitive*. E. Fomasari di Vercì: *Sui limiti del campo d'osservazione della demografia*. P. Consiglio: *Pacicosi, nevrosi e criminalità*.

RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE DE SCIENZE SOCIALI E DISCIPLINE AUSILIARIE. Agosto, 1910.—Carlo Grilli: *La rendita edilizia nelle moderne metropoli*. Investigations in Vienna and New York. Peculiar features of metropolitan life affecting rents—continuous immigration of adults, advantages secured to the capital by special attention from the State, the larger proportion of productive to unproductive labour, the great number of strangers and foreigners which serves to emphasize the economic rather than the traditional factor. With reference to decentralization, those occupied in the 'commercial city' alone fulfil the hopes of the promoters of the "garden city." The demand for houses comparatively rigid; an increase of rent provided for by subletting, or the sharing of the house by relatives. Paolo Cesare Rinaudo: *Il lavoro femminile a domicilio*. Public opinion on the subject, misery of economic conditions, responsibility of the consumer, figures obtained by investigation in Europe and America, causes of the evil. Salvatore Arnone: *Il latifondo e la Cooperativa in Sicilia*. Drawbacks to this form of property—non-residence of the proprietor, presence of speculators and middlemen, further it is a hindrance to the growth of village life, an asylum for brigandage. On the other hand, the introduction of a new system of culture, it is asserted, would be fatal to pasture. The unity of the "latifondo" suitable to a climate in which intensive cultivation is necessarily limited to plants which can survive the drought—figs, olives, etc.

Settembre, 1910.—Paolo Cesare Rinaudo: *Il lavoro femminile a domicilio*. Remedies—The reform of ideas with special reference to the encyclical "Rerum novarum." Proposed legislation in France and Germany; the English Trades Board Bill, the first of the kind in Europe. The writer advocates professional organization, co-operation, inspection, the protection of suitable rural home industries, leagues of buyers. The aim should be to raise the dignity of woman, to encourage small industries as conducive to the autonomy and sanctity of family life, to prepare the formation of a middle class. Salvatore Arnone: *Il latifondo e la cooperativa in Sicilia*. The reasons for and against the "latifondo" are so weighty that it is necessary to seek a "via media." The rural banks already established should supply the necessary sum for the purchase of the property, which should then be parcelled out into small holdings, the occupiers gradually purchasing the right of ownership. The State should remit all taxation during the term of payment—say 10 years. To avert the danger of speculation it is suggested that the "bene di famiglia" (homestead) should be inalienable and incapable of being mortgaged unless with the consent of the owner's wife and sons, and never so long as there is a minor in the family; if alienated or sold the homestead must not be divided. Giuseppe Menotti Da Francesca: *I conflitti di lavoro e loro pacifica risoluzione*.

Ottobre, 1910.—Federico Chessa: *La distribuzione topografica delle industrie a domicilio*. Industries in which the raw material is all important are located in districts where it is produced in abundance; on the contrary, where technical skill and artistic taste predominate, the locality chosen is the most favourable market for the commodity in question. Effects produced by home industries—the formation of special markets, a division of labour not only technical but local, a greater opportunity for the worker to carry out his own ideas, greater immunity from real unemployment, though some trades are seasonal. Carlo Grilli: *La rendita edilizia nelle Moderne Metropoli*. The problem of the housing of the working classes is by no means solved by decentralization and facilities of transport. There is a tendency to attract fresh immigration through the temporary lowering of rents. Every effort at decentralization merely increases the difficulty and complicates the future problem. Convenience

and a sentiment of solidarity cause the worker to live near the centre of his activities, and the garden city will not attract indifferently those engaged in various pursuits—it is an artificial solution of the question. The garden city will become a mere branch of the metropolis in so far as it encourages the immigration of manufactures. The writer recommends taxation of rents, which would prohibit the further growth of urban population. Giuseppe Menotti da Francesco: *I conflitti di lavoro e loro pacifica risoluzione*. Ferdinando Passani: *Brevi osservazioni su verdetti dei giurati*. A too facile use of reprieve or condemnation must encourage crime. Is the juryman aware that his action does not merely affect the culprit but has an indirect action in society? The plea of mental infirmity may be so worked as to establish in some sort a right of murder for the individual, while capital punishment is prohibited to the State. A danger of different treatment for different classes; it is relatively rare that a verdict of "non compos sui" gives a poor man his liberty.

Also received: *Man* (Nov., Dec.), *Monist*, *Open Court* (Oct., Nov., Dec.), *La Lectura revista de Ciencias y des Artes* (Oct., Nov., Dec.), *Revista Bimestre Cubana* (July-Oct.), *Progress*, *Highway*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Reid, G. Archdall. "The Laws of Heredity." Methuen & Co. 21/- net.
- Walker, C. E. "Hereditary Characters and their Modes of Transmission." Edward Arnold. 8/6 net.
- Hart, Dr. Berry. "Phases of Evolution and Heredity." Rebman Ltd. 5/- net.
- Herbert, S., M.D. "First Principles of Heredity." A. & C. Black. 5/- net.
- Doncaster, L. "Heredity in the Light of Recent Research." Cambridge University Press. 1/- net.
- Brown, George, D.D. "Melanesians and Polynesians." Macmillan & Co. 12/- net.
- Dennett, R. E. "Nigerian Studies." Macmillan & Co. 8/6 net.
- Markham, Sir Clements R. "The Incas of Peru." Smith, Elder & Co. 10/6 net.
- Fishberg, Dr. M. "The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment." The Walter Scott Publishing Co. 6/-.
- Milne, Mrs. Leslie and Cochrane, Rev W. W. "Shans at Home." John Murray. 15/- net.
- Baldwin, James Mark. "Darwin and the Humanities." Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 3/-.
- Ellwood, Chas. A. "Sociology and Modern Social Problems." American Book Company. \$1.00.
- Bisschop, Dr. W. R. "Rise of the London Money Market." P. S. King & Son. 5/- net.
- Withers, Hartley. "Stocks and Shares." Smith, Elder & Co. 7/6 net.
- Hawkins, C. B. "Norwich: A Social Study." Philip Lee Warner. 5/- net.
- Penstone, M. M. "Town Study." National Society's Depository. 4/- net.
- Wilcox, Delis F. "Great Cities in America." Macmillan & Co. \$1.25 net.
- Knowles, G. W. "Junior Labour Exchanges." (Preface by S. J. Chapman). Sherratt & Hughes. 6d. net.
- Allard, Paul. (Trans. from the French by Luis Fernández Ramos). "Los Esclavos cristianos." Saturnino Calleja Fernández Mañrid, 4 pesetas.
- Foerster, Dr. F. W. (Trans. by Ethel Peck). "The Art of Living." J. M. Dent & Sons. 2/6 net.
- George, W. L. "France in the Twentieth Century." Cheap edition. Alston Rivers, Ltd. 2/- net.
- Cunningham, Dr. W. "Christianity and Social Questions." Duckworth & Co. 2/6 net.
- Blease, W. Lyon. "The Emancipation of English Women." Constable & Co. 6/- net.

- Ames, Edward Scribner. "The Psychology of Religious Experience." Constable & Co. 10/- net.
- Stocker, R. Dimsdale. "Social Idealism." Williams & Norgate. 3/- net.
- Fowler, Rev. Montague. "The Morality of Social Pleasures." Longmans, Green & Co. 3/6 net.
- Tucker, T. G. "Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul." Macmillan & Co. 12/6 net.
- Wood, Sir Henry Trueman. "Industrial England in the Eighteenth Century." John Murray. 5/- net.
- Browne, E. G. "The Persian Revolution." Cambridge University Press. 10/- net.
- Rolin, Henri. "Prolégomènes à la Science du Droit." Etablissements Emile Bruylant, Brussels. 4 francs.
- Eliot, Chas. W. "The Future of Trade-Unionism and Capitalism in a Democracy." G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Teachers in Harvard University. "A Guide to Reading in Social Ethics and Allied Subjects." Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Mangold, George B. "Child Problems." Macmillan & Co. 5/- net.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TOWN-PLANNING.

The session of 1910-11 began on October 18 with a lecture by Professor Patrick Geddes on "The Lessons of the Town-planning Conference and Exhibition." Mr. Raymond Unwin was in the chair. The main points of the lecture are given elsewhere in this number under the heading of "Sociological Notes."

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF INDIA.

Sir Theodore Morison, K.C.I.E., delivered, on November 1, a lecture on "The Economic Structure of Indian Society, Archaic and Modern." Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., presided, and the lecture, which dealt with the village community system and its gradual modification by the establishment of modern industry in India, gave rise to an animated discussion. The Chairman, Sir James Wilson, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Mr. Leslie Moore, Professor Geddes, Mr. Swinny, and others took part.

THE HIGHWAYS OF ENGLAND.

On November 15 Mr. George Montagu read the paper on "The Highways of England," which is published in this number. Dr. A. J. Herbertson, of Oxford, was in the chair. The paper has since received much attention in the technical journals.

THE STATE AND EDUCATION.

On November 29 Professor M. E. Sadler read a paper on "The State and Education," dealing mainly with the relations of the Government to educational institutions in England during the nineteenth century. Mr. Graham Wallas was in the chair.

SOCIOLOGY AND ITS RACIAL APPLICATIONS

On December 13 Dr. J. Lionel Tayler read the paper on "Sociology and its racial applications," which appears in this number. The paper was illustrated by a number of charts and diagrams. Dr. F. W. Mott, F.R.S., who was in the chair, initiated a discussion in which Dr. Saleeby, Mr. Thornton, and others took part. The newspaper reports, which were longer and more numerous than is usual in the case of a lecture of this kind, provoked a further discussion in the Press.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

A proposal having been made that some or all of the Society's meetings should be held in the afternoon, a poll of the members was taken on the subject towards the close of last year. A large majority declared in favour of part afternoon and part evening meetings. In consequence of this expression of opinion the Council decided that certain of the papers should be read at 5.15 p.m. The meetings for the remainder of the session will be held as usual in the Hall of the Royal Society of Arts, and there will be an opportunity before the afternoon lectures for members and their friends to meet at tea. The following have so far been arranged:—

Tuesday, February 7 (afternoon).

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.I.E.: Lamaism in Tibet.

Tuesday, February 21 (evening).

DR. C. W. SALEEBY: The Foundations of Eugenics.